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從要求到給予：台灣政論節目中「好不好」與「好嗎」的知識轉換

From Demanding to Giving: Epistemic Transformation

of Taiwan Mandarin *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma* in

Political Talk Shows

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在歷經了無數掙扎、挫折、絕望、灰心、焦慮、恐慌之後，這份論文在最後的最後，挾帶著許多人的支持、鼓勵、期許、關心、祝福、打氣——當然還有最重要的，伴隨著我的淚水——誕生。「我總算也來到這一天了嗎？」此刻坐在電腦前的我，依然感到不真實。回首這段日子裡的點點滴滴，每一件小事都同樣地刻骨銘心、念念不忘。對於這些帶給我幫助的人，我有一些話想說。但，再怎麼書寫，語言終究只能表達思維的部分。這些謝辭不過佔我心中感謝的微小部份而已。

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中文摘要

一般人咸同意，一句話語披著疑問結構的外衣並不表示其立意必然是尋求訊息。多虧語用學、言談分析、對話分析、功能主義等等語言學學派的成果，研究者已逐漸揭露由「語言形式」至「互動功能」之間的映射關係並不完美（反之亦然）。本文受到語言中這種有趣的不確定性所驅使，企圖揭露漢語中「失職」的「偽疑問結構」，針對的兩個對象為「好不好」與「好嗎」。雖然此二結構看似疑問，但已有許多研究者（Chen & Liu, 2009; Hu, 2002; H.-I. Liu, 2008; L. Y. Wang, 2005）稱其可用作「挑戰」、「反駁」、「駁斥」、「否定」。

在 Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson (1974)與 Levinson (1983)建立並發展的對話分析的框架之下檢視政論節目〈新聞面對面〉裡的談話之後，我辨識出九項經由非正統附加問句用法的「好不好」所執行的社會行為/功能，以及兩項經由似附加問句用法的「好不好」所執行的功能。另一方面，兩項經由非正統附加問句用法的「好嗎」所執行的社會行為也在本文中被辨識出來。總的來說，本文所辨識出來的社會行為/功能如下：(i) 同意、(ii) 糾正、(iii) 散佈新聞、(iv) 不同意、(v) 名詞解釋、(vi) 通知/自我通知、(vii) 協商標記、(viii) 預糾正、(ix) 提醒、(x) 吸引注意力。本文的發現不但證實自然語言對於多義性/多功能性驚人的容忍度，更重要的是根據上述社會行為/功能的共性，我主張「好不好」與「好嗎」此二合成結構經歷了「知識轉換」。也就是說，套用 Halliday 自 1985 年發展的功能語法，我們可以說，除了由扮演著「要求者」(demander)的語言角色 (speech role)，以尋求訊息的說話者口中說出來以外，現代漢語的「好不好」與「好嗎」亦可由扮演著「給予者」(giver)的語言角色，自願傳遞訊息/知識的說話者口中說出。

關鍵詞：「好不好」、「好嗎」、附加問句、疑問句、對話分析、知識轉換、社會行為

Abstract
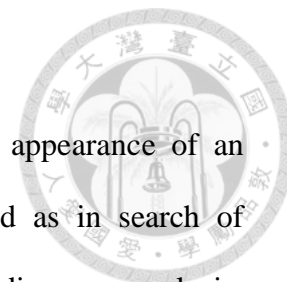
As laypeople can attest, just because an utterance has the appearance of an interrogative structure does not entail that it is indeed intended as in search of information. Thanks to schools of linguistics such as pragmatics, discourse analysis, Conversation Analysis, functionalism, etc. researchers have gradually unearthed the imperfect mappings from linguistic forms to interactional functions (or the other way around). Motivated by this fascinating unpredictability, this thesis aims to disclose "fake" interrogative structures in Mandarin Chinese that "do not do their jobs." The items selected are *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*, two seeming interrogative structures that, some researchers (Chen & Liu, 2009; Hu, 2002; H.-I. Liu, 2008; L. Y. Wang, 2005) claim, can be used for challenges/refutations/rebuttals/negation.

Examining naturally occurring talk-in-interaction in the TV talk show *Facenews* (新聞面對面) under the framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) as launched and developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Levinson (1983), I identify as many as nine social actions/functions that are implemented through the non-canonical tag uses of *hao bu hao*, along with two functions that are performed by the quasi-tag uses of *hao bu hao*. On the other hand, two social actions that get done via the non-canonical tag uses of *hao ma* are identified. Overall, on the list of all the social actions/functions found in this study are (i) agreeing, (ii) correcting, (iii) delivering news, (iv) disagreeing, (v) explaining jargon, (vi) informing/self-informing, (vii) negotiation marker, (viii) pre-correction, (ix) reminding, and (x) attention getter. The findings not only bear witness to the fact that natural language is unimaginably tolerant of an enormous amount of polysemy/poly-functionality. More importantly, based on the commonalities among these social actions/functions, I argue that the two composite structures *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* have undergone an "epistemic transformation." That

is, besides coming from a speaker who plays the speech role of a demander in search of information or knowledge (as is assumed in existing grammars of Chinese) in conversation, *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in Modern Chinese can also be produced by someone who plays the speech role of a giver willing to transmit information or knowledge.
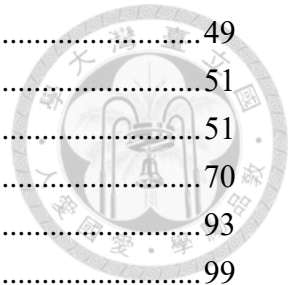
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Asking questions is one of the defining features of *Homo sapiens*[1] and the cornerstone that our daily communication builds upon. Human children begin to query their parents a variety of things from as early as about two years old, most of them being yes-no questions (Tyack & Ingram, 1977). For adults, who engage in all sorts of institutional encounters, questions play a central role in their social life, for the practice of questioning "enacts and reflects an institution's specific goals and values" (Tracy & Robles, 2009). In the history-taking phase of a medical visit, for example, a series of questions are asked to further the physician's progress toward a particular diagnosis (Stivers, 2007). In TV talk shows, wh-questions are a typical format for narrative elicitation, whereas yes-no questions are more likely to elicit opinions (Thornborrow, 2010). In telephone sells, both the caller and the customer employ questioning strategies to reach their respective goals (Freed, 2010). In fact, even when people meet in the first place, greetings are often done in the shape of questions (e.g., *How are you? How's it going?*). It is unimaginable how normal conversation would be like with questions removed.

Though questions can usually be recognized by their morpho-syntactic characteristics easily (e.g., subject-auxiliary inversion, verb raising, wh-words, sentence final particles, etc.), the presence of an interrogative structure does not guarantee that a question has been posed[2]. Generally speaking, interrogatives are produced because there is a deficiency in the speaker's knowledge (Heritage &

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[1] While animals have been shown to demonstrate rudimentary ways of transmitting information, the ability to ask questions has not been observed in non-human communication systems. It seems fair to say that questions set humans from the rest of life. For more information, see Premack and Premack (1983) and Jordania (2006).

[2] To borrow Levinson's (2012:12) metaphor, interrogatives are "the workhorses in the functional arenas," for they are constantly deployed to do introductions, repair, suggestions, requests, statements, and so on.

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Raymond, 2012) and the speaker feels impelled to correct this deficiency[3]. However, in Yoon's (2010) examination of eight sets of naturally occurring Korean conversations, a minority (< 10%) of the questions collected, despite their interrogative formats, do not seek information. Rhetorical questions, for example, are formulated in such a way that they appear "unanswerable"; interrogatives of this sort are arguably "dedicated to performing accusations" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002a, 2002b; Heinemann, 2008). In fact, corpus studies show that a widely-seen context wherein interrogatives are used is one in which the speaker is pretty sure that he knows the information and simply wants it repeated (Levinson, 2012). In his *Toward a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts*, Sadock (1974) even coined the term "queclarative" to account for utterances which are intended as assertions but formally disguised as interrogatives[4]. Together, these findings suggest that the tie between the appearance of a question and the act of information seeking (or, for that matter, a speaker lacking in certain information), if there is any, is not a firm one. Inspired by this imperfect correspondence, the present study aims to unveil "fake" interrogative expressions in Mandarin Chinese that "do not do their jobs" and to probe into their usages in face-to-face talk-in-interaction. The items selected are *hao bu hao* 'good or not good' and *hao ma* 'good?', two composite structures whose non-interrogativity has been noticed only until quite recently.

1.1 Current Understanding of *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma*

According to existing grammars of Modern Chinese with respect to its interrogative system, the combination *hao bu hao* can be treated in two ways. For some scholars (Chao, 1968; Huang, Li, & Li, 2009; Y. Liu, Pan, & Gu, 2006; Tang, 1981;

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[3] By the way, chimpanzees, our closest relatives, do not possess this kind of metacognition, though. According to Premack and Premack (1983: 29), who attempt to teach language to four apes, language training cannot teach a creature to examine the state of its knowledge or to find deficiencies that impel the desire for information.

[4] Queclaratives differ from genuine inquiries in several respects. Collocationally, for example, they do not go with *by any chance* or the "X *in the hell*" construction (e.g., ?*Does Arthur, by any chance, know a damn thing about syntax?*).

Zhan & Bai, 2016), it is an A-not-A structure within a clause; for other scholars, it can be analyzed as either an A-not-A structure or a tag attached to the end of a clause (Chang, 2012; Chu, 2010; C. N. Li & Thompson, 1981; Shao, 2014). Whichever analysis one adopts, *hao bu hao* is understood as an interrogative device.
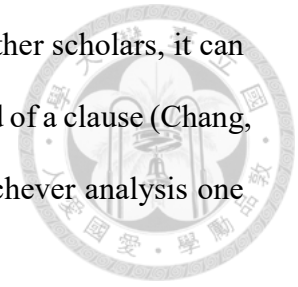
An A-not-A question, as its name suggests, is a question characterized by the juxtaposition of the affirmative and the negative version of a clause. When someone utters an A-not-A question, he presents an either-or choice to the respondent (C. N. Li & Thompson, 1981). Generally speaking, except for the second subject being co-referential with the first one, the deletion of which is obligatory, speakers can delete elements that are not the focus of the information to be communicated for economy's sake, as long as doing so does not cause misunderstanding. Therefore, instead of the full repetition in (1):

(1) [from C. N. Li & Thompson 1981: 536]

他　在　家　　不　　在　家?

ta　zai　jia　　bu　　zai　jia.

he　at　home　NEG　　at　home

'Is he at home?'

one can choose to say (2):

(2) 他　在　不　　在　家

ta　zai　bu　　zai　jia

he　at　NEG　　at　home

'Is he at home?'

3

In (1) the two-place predicate *zai* 'at' is copied along with its argument *jia* 'home', while in (2) only *zai* gets copied. If the internal structure of the predicate[5] in question is simpler, such as the one-place predicate *hao* 'good', one can get cases like (3) and (4) below:

(3) 他　　的　　　中文　　　好　　　不　　　好?

　　 ta　　de　　 zhongwen　hao　　 bu　　 hao

　　 he　　GEN　 Chinese　　good　　NEG　 good

　　 'How is his Chinese?'

(4) 他　　唱　　　得　　　好　　　不　　　好?

　　 ta　　chang　 de　　 hao　　 bu　　 hao

　　 he　　sing　　CSC　　good　　NEG　　good

　　 'How does he sing?'

Since an A-not-A question is formed by putting two versions of a clause together, the A-not-A part is by definition integral to the new clause that is created in the sense that the removal of it would damage the integrity of the new clause. That is to say, one would get a so-called "sentence fragment."

Tag questions, on the other hand, are different. For most scholars who recognize the syntactic status of tag questions in Chinese (e.g., Chang, 2012; Chu, 2010; C. N. Li & Thompson, 1981), a tag question is created by adding a short A-not-A form (e.g., *hao bu hao*) to the end of a self-contained, well-formed clause. Only Shao (2014) explicitly states that the tag can be in the "X PRT" format, such as *hao ma*. In spite of the lack of

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[5] Although the A element in the A-not-A questions discussed here are all predicates, it is not my intention to give the impression that the two slots can be occucpied by predicates only. In fact, constituents other than adverbial phrases can all enter the A positions (Shao, 2014: 151).

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consensus on the actual realization of tag questions, it is agreed that the function of tag questions is to seek confirmation/permission/opinion of or on the propositional content that the preceding clause contains. What follows are two examples:

(5) [from C. N. Li & Thompson 1981: 546]

我們	去	吃	水果	好	不	好?
women	qu	chi	shuiguo	hao	bu	hao
we	go	eat	fruit	good	NEG	good

'Let's go eat some fruit, ok?'

(6) [from Shao 2014: 202]

你	今天	不要	去	明天	去，好	嗎?
ni	jintian	buyao	qu	mingtian	qu hao	ma
you	today	don't	go	tomorrow	go good	PRT

'Don't go today. Wait till tomorrow, ok?'

Because the tag is an extra element that is attached *to* the end of the clause as demonstrated above, it is by definition not constitutive of the structurally bigger, and derivationally later, clause. In other words, its existence is optional rather than necessary. Combining what have been discussed so far, we can summarize the current understanding of the two combination *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in the following table:

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Table 1.1 Current Understanding of *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma*

	Within a clause	**Outside a clause**
Hau bu hao	A-not-A question	tag question
Hao ma	mere linear stringing of morphemes	tag question

1.2 Research Questions

Despite current understanding of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*, the two composite structures have been claimed to be used as/for challenges/refutations/rebuttals/negation (see section 2.3 of the next chapter). It is the aim of the present study to answer the following questions (to be refined in section 2.3.5 of the next chapter):

1. What social actions/functions (other than asking questions) do *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* get done in talk-in-interaction?
2. Are there any commonalities between the social actions/fuctions that get done via *hao bu hao* and *hao ma?*

In this study, I will try to answer these fundamental questions by examining tokens of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in naturally occurring conversation under the analytical framework of Conversation Analysis (CA).

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews literature on (i) the notion of epistemics, which is the focus of the present study, (ii) Conversation Analysis, the approach employed by the present study, and (iii) irregular cases of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*, the two targets of the present study. Chapter 3 deals with methodological issues,

including (i) criteria for data collection, (ii) the database used, and (iii) the analytical framework adopted. Chapter 4 reports findings of the present study, that is, social actions/functions that get done via non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*. Chapter 5 offers an interpretation of the findings obtained and some suggestions for future research.

2.1 Epistemics

Although the study of knowledge, or epistemology, has a long tradition in philosophy dating back to at least some two thousand years ago[6] and has received so much attention that it enters the four major philosophical arenas (the other three being logic, metaphysics, and ethics), considering the recorded history of linguistics in the widest sense that is equally long[7], scholars' contemplation on the role knowledge plays in language sciences and what bearing knowledge has on human communication comes unproportionally late. In what follows, I will give a sketchy overview of writings of the interaction between knowledge and conversation, though in this context the term *epistemics* is preferred to *epistemology*, since the interest of language scientists is markedly different from that of philosophers.

2.1.1 Sacks

In discussing how, under ordinary circumstances, one manages to answer the question *How are you?* in an exchange of "greeting substitutes"[8], Sacks (1975) incidentally touches upon what conversation analysts nowadays call "epistemics." To begin with, he posits two theoretical constructs. The first is a class called "personal states," consisting of things like mood, appetite, sleep, etc (Sacks, 1975: 69). The other is "value states," including terms such as *good*, *lousy*, *great*, *ok*, *fine*, *wonderful*, *awful*, and so forth. These terms are grouped into three subsets, which Sacks labels as [−],

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[6] The goal of epistemology is to answer the question of "what constitutes knowledge." Before Gettier's (1963) influential paper, Plato's (428-348 B.C.E) idea that knowledge is "justified true belief" (JTB) had long been the so-called "classic account."

[7] Thanks to Plato's dialogue *Cratylus*, whose theme is a debate on the origin of language and on the relations between word form and word meaning, it is widely agreed that (at least European) linguistics has its root in Greek Antiquity (see, for example, Robins (1997) and Seuren (1998)).

[8] Sacks (1975: 68) distinguishes between greetings—such as *Hi!* and *Hello!*—and what he calls "greeting substitutes" (e.g., *How are you?*). There are two reasons for such distinction. First, except in telephone calls, greetings are not repeatedly used. Furthermore, if greeting substitutes are used in combination with true greetings, they always occur in a fixed order. Greetings precede greeting substitutes.

[+], and [0] (possibly meaning "negative," "positive," and "neutral" respectively). The three subsets are mutually exclusive; if a term belongs to a certain subset, it belongs to that particular subset only. When one is faced with the question *How are you?*, Sacks hypothesizes, he goes through two steps in his mind. The first step is "monitoring" and the second "selecting a term." The first step involves choosing a subset (that is, either [−], [+], or [0]). Given the subset being chosen (say, [−]), one selects an appropriate term from it in the second step (for example, *lousy*).

Now Sacks justifies the monitoring stage, which might appear artifitial, by invoking two scenarios (see Figure 2.1 below). Suppose a little girl comes home and says to her mother, *Mama, I'm pretty* or *Mama, I'm smart*. In response, the mother would, very likely, say "Who told you that?" However, if someone says *I'm tired* or *I feel lousy*, no such question is asked. The reason for this disparity, Sacks argues, is simple—one is responsible for knowing some things on one's own behalf, in contrast to the situation in which one is treated as likely to be repeating what another has told him about himself (Sacks, 1975: 72). The explanation is substantiated by a datum Sacks offers: *You keep saying you're insane. Has anybody been telling you that recently?* In other words, there are things that are heard as things one knows on his behalf and things that are heard as things one knows by virtue of another's having told him. The answer to *How are you?* belongs to the former category.
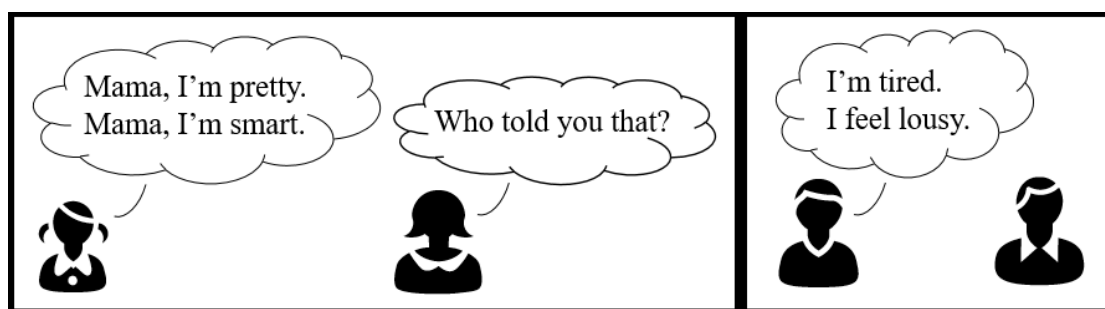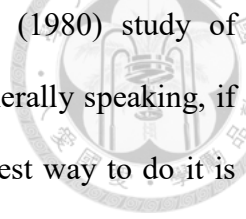
Figure 2.1 Two Scenarios Proposed by Sacks

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2.1.2 Pomerantz

A similar two-fold analysis can be seen in Pomerantz's (1980) study of interactants' ways of getting information from co-interactants. Generally speaking, if one wishes to find out something from his interlocutor(s), the easiest way to do it is simply to ask about it. Sometimes, however, what is done is indirect. To figure out how this is achieved, Pomerantz (1980: 187) identifies two types of knowledge. **Type 1 knowables** are those that subject-actors as subject-actors have rights and obligations to know. One's name, what one is doing, and so on are prototypical instances. **Type 2 knowables** are those that subject-actors are assumed to have access to by virtue of the knowings being "occasioned." For instance, where one's friend is and what he did yesterday are not things that subject-actors inherently know. Rather, they are told by someone else, or are "found out" in one way or another. According to Pomerantz, what one is responsible for knowing on his own behalf in what Sacks (1975) calls the "monitoring" step (recall section 2.1.1) is equivalent to type 1 knowables. On the other hand, what one asserts that is heard as "repeated" is tantamount to type 2 knowables.

The distinction between type 1 knowables and type 2 knowables comes in handy in the analysis of what Pomerantz (1980: 188) calls "fishing" or "my side telling" (Pomerantz, 1980: 191). In fishing, a speaker makes an assertion of a type 2 knowable that refers to a particular event about which there is a type 1 knowable for the recipient at the same time. This assertion is recognized as a product of limited access relative to the recipient's type 1 knowable. Take the utterance *I saw you drive by last night* as an example. In this case, the speaker proffers a piece of information in which the recipient is the very object of the reported seeing. Whether the recipient did drive by is something that the recipient as a subject-actor knows inherently; that is, it is his type 1 knowable, and he is in this sense "authoritative." As for the speaker, who produces this whole

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utterance, the event is known to him by virtue of occasioning, in this case, through his sight.

When a speaker asserts a type 1 knowable, so the argument goes, the recipient may warrantably infer, inquire about, or puzzle over, and so on the occasioning of the knowing. Consider, for example, a context where speaker A says *I rang you earlier but you were out* and speaker B says *Oh I must have been at Dez's Mom's*. Here speaker A gives a report on speaker B's whereabouts, which is known to speaker A himself by virtue of his having tried to reach speaker B some time earlier. As the recipient, speaker B's work is to find an event that will fit and account for the experience reported by speaker A. In other words, speaker B's response is going to be a "corresponding event" (Pomerantz 1980: 191) that somehow relates to speaker A's prior "my side telling." In this case, the reason for speaker B's being out is that he has been somewhere else.

2.1.3 Goodwin

Another writing of the role epistemics plays in face-to-face verbal interaction is Goodwin's (1979) study of sentences situated in conversation. Contrary to what is assumed in traditional linguistics, Goowdin argues that the analysis of sentences cannot be isolated from the process by which speakers interact. To be specific, focusing on a mini dialogue comprised of only three turns (presented below), Goodwin tries to show that a speaker can reconstruct the emerging meaning of his sentence as he is producing it in order to maintain its appropriateness to its recipient of the moment. He begins by making a distinction between an "unknowing recipient" and a "knowing recipient" (Goodwin, 1979: 100). An unknowing recipient is a possible recipient not expected to know about an event being reported by a speaker, whereas a knowing recipient is a possible recipient already informed about that event. Consider Goodwin's example visualized below:
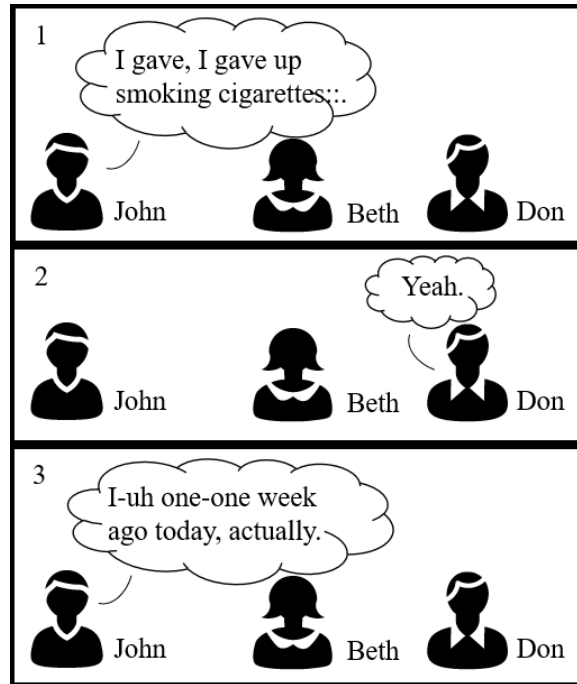
Figure 2.2 The Cigarette Conversation

The dialogue takes place in a dinner in the house of John and his wife Beth attended by Don and another friend (not shown here). Directing his gaze towards Don, John initiates his talk by saying *I gave, I gave up smoking cigarettes*::. Getting little response from Don, who is an unknowing recipient the utterance is designed for, John shifts his gaze to his wife (Beth) and adds *I-uh one-one week ago today actually*. This increment is noteworthy in the following sense: Though as John's wife, Beth possesses the knowledge that John has quit smoking (which makes her a knowing recipient), it does not follow that she is necessarily aware of the lapse between the onset of that decision and the speech time. In adding this extra piece of information (viz. it has been exactly one week since John's quitting smoking), John presents (or packages) his news in a brand-new fashion. Therefore, he creates a product that is known to neither Don nor Beth. The underlying principle at work, Goodwin argues, is a general rule Sacks (1973: 139) observes: one should not tell one's co-participants what one takes it they already know.

2.1.4 Labov and Fanshel

Using therapeutic discourse as data, Labov and Fanshel (1977) develop what they call "comprehensive discourse analysis," in which epistemics has a significant place. Before we delve into the details, it is helpful to get a grip on some background information in the first place.

In Labov and Famshel's understanding of human communication, there are two major planes of conversational behavior (see Figure 2.3 below). One the one hand, there is the plane of "what is said," comprised of the text, para-linguistic cues, and implicit references to other cues and propositions. On the other hand, there is the plane of "what is done," a multi-layered complex of speech acts. The coherence of discourse hinges upon the connections between these two planes, a series of "rules of interpretation and production" (Labov and Fanshel, 1977: 71). Contrary to everyday conceptualization of the word *rule*, however, these bridging rules are meant not to be "prescriptive"—when one employs any one of these rules, he is not making any conscious choices. Rather, the rules are in his competence already. He cannot help using these rules.
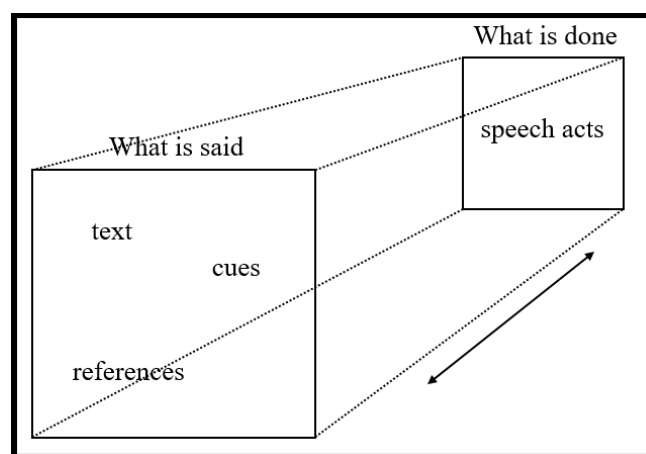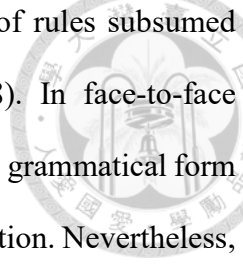
Figure 2.3 The Overall Structure of Discourse[9]

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[9] Adapted from Labov and Fanshel's (1977: 68) Figure 7.

Of particular relevance to the notion of epistemics are a set of rules subsumed under the rubric of "coherence" (Labov and Fanshel, 1977: 98). In face-to-face interaction, speakers often request information, and in most cases the grammatical form of the response is closely connected to that of the request for information. Nevertheless, there do exist cases where, judging from the recipient's response, a request for information, despite its non-interrogative appearance, is thought to be present. According to Labov and Fanshel, this can be accounted for by means of the shared knowledge involved in the speech setting. To be specific, they provide the following classification of statements (Labov and Fanshel, 1977: 100):

‧ An **A-event** is known to A but not to B.

‧ A **B-event** is known to B but not to A.

‧ An **AB-event** is known to both A and B.

‧ An **O-event** is known to everyone else.

‧ A **D-event** is known to be disputable.

Such classification, Labov and Fanshel argue, is a "social fact"—it is something shared by all those who participate in the discourse. If there is any doubt about the status of a certain event, it automatically falls into the last category.

Once a consensus as to what category a particular event belongs to has been reached, complex requests for information become possible. For example, the **rule of confirmation** states that if A makes a statement about B-events, then it is heard as a request for confirmation. Labov and Fanshel report an experiment that tests this rule: In a series of interviews cocncerning life in New York City, if the subject reported a burglary, the interviewer would then insert the utterance *And you never called the police* with a declarative intonation. As it turned out, *all* subjects responded to this statement as if the interviewer were saying *And is it true that you never called the police?* The

responses obtained were either a simple *No*, or positive ones plus some indication of surprise (e.g., *Oh, yes, I called them.*).

On the other hand, the **rule of socratic specification** states the following (thogh rather cumbersome):

If A makes a request for information of B, and B refuses to answer on the ground that he does not have the ability, and A makes another request for information which is more specific, then A is heard as asserting that this specific information is part of the answer, thereby disallowing further refusals on the same account.

Labov and Fanshel (1977: 103) offer a case where this rule is resorted to:

1   Th   Why do they keeping reapting it?

2   R   I don't know.

3   Th   →   What are they feeling?

Here Rhoda (a patient), upon hearing the therapist's question in line 1, claims that she does not know why her family is behaving in a certain way. Confronted with *I don't know*, the therapist asks a wh-question that makes it impossible for Rhoda to continue her claim of disability any longer. In doing so, the therapist opens up the opportunity for further discussion.

2.1.5 Kamio

To one's surprise, new blood in the study of epistemics can come from disciplines other than language sciences. Originally trained as a psychologist, Kamio (1997) applies the concept of territory in ethology to his research into natural language, trying to delineate information of different natures expressed in discourse. To begin with, he

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makes a conceptual dinstinction between simply having/knowing information and having/knowing information *in one's territory of information* (Kamio, 1997: 16). The former refers to having/knowing information in one's general storage of information, whereas the latter means that, within one's general storage of information, there is a conceptual category called the territory of information. Therefore, a relation of entailment (or "redundancy relation," as Kamio calls it) is observed—having/knowing information in one's territory of information entails simply having/knowing information, but not the other way around. To see exactly what this prolix wording means, consider Figure 2.4 below.
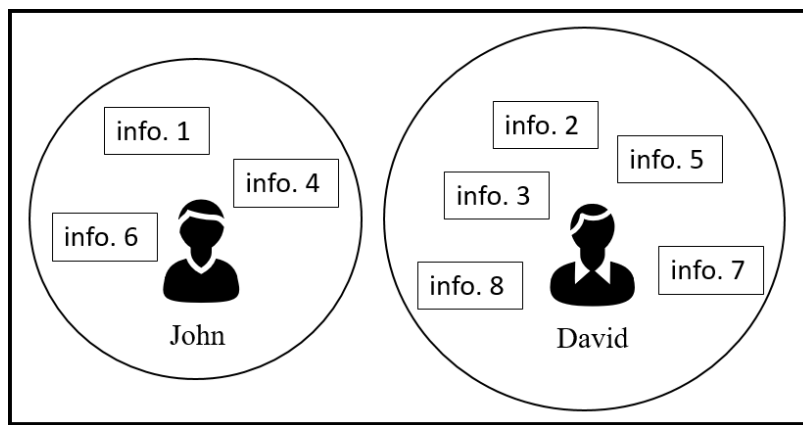
Figure 2.4 Territories of Information

As this figure illustrates, among the eight pieces of information involved in John and David's conversation, three pieces of information reside in John's territory of information, and five pieces of information fall within David's territory of information. That is, pieces of information that come and go during conversation are not randomly distributed in the "discoursal universe."[10] Rather, most of them fall into either the speaker's or the hearer's cognitive territory. Information that falls within the speaker's

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[10] This metaphor is mine.

terrirory of information is said to be proximal or "close" to him. For example, info. 1, info. 4, and info. 6 are proximal to John (but not to David), while info. 2, infor. 3, infor 5, info. 7, and info. 8 are proximal to David (but not to John).
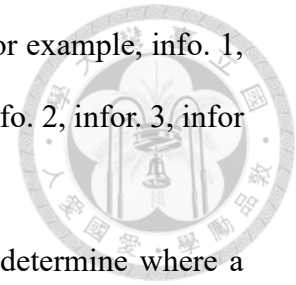
A question that might arise at this juncture, then, is how to determine where a particular piece of information belongs. Kamio (1997: 18) offers four conditions:

a. information obtained through the speaker's/hearer's internal direct experience

b. information embodying detailed knowledge which falls into the range of the speaker's/hearer's professional or other expertise

c. information obtained through the speaker's/hearer's external direct experience including information verbally conveyed to him by others

d. information about persons, objects, events and facts close to the speaker/hearer including such information about the speaker/hearer himself

Three points need to be made. First of all, if the speaker/hearer does not have a solid, adequate basis for information of b, c, and d, information of these sorts is considered less proximal to the speaker/hearer. Secondly, information whose accessibility to the speaker/hearer is low is considered less proximal to him. Finally, if none of the four is applicable to both the speaker and the hearer, then the information in question is close to no one.

As Kamio (1997: 21) points out, information of different natures correlates with different consequences. For example, consider the three utterances below:

(a) The owner of the shop at the corner is an Italian.

(b) ?The owner of the shop at the corner has a stomach ulcer.

(c) I hear that the owner of the shop at the corner has a stomach ulcer.

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Notice that the shape an utterance takes is tied up with the relative distance between the information contained and the producer. Since (a) conveys rather public information that is easy to be cognizant of, it is presented in a direct, unmarked form. However, it would be quite weird (or even intrusive) to utter (b)—which is also in a direct form—because it contains private information about a person to whom the speaker is not close and which is accordingly not easily accessible. Yet if one modifies the utterance morpho-syntactically by, say, supplying evidentiality as in (c), there would be no trouble.

2.1.6 Heritage

These valuable writings notwithstanding, it is Heritage (2012a, 2012b) who brings fruits of them together whereby to really shed new light on the study of everyday conversation. Inspired by the aforementioned scholars, Heritage (2012b: 4) realizes that, since different speakers access a variety of information in different ways, relative states of knowledge can range from circumstances in which speaker A may have absolute knowledge of some state of affair (while speaker B has none) to cases where both speakers may have exactly equal information, as well as every point in between. Furthermore, Heritage (2012a: 32) conceptualizes relative access to a domain knowledge as stratified between speakers such that they occupy different positions on an imaginary "epistemic gradient." Such relative positioning is referred to as "epistemic status". As Figure 2.5 shows below, for example, speaker A is in a less knowledgeable epistemic status, and speaker B is in a more knowledgeable epistemic status (where K stands for knowledge). According to Heritage, the configuration of conversationalists

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in terms of their access to some domain knowledge is a more or less settled or agreed-upon matter of fact[11], for it is based on their valuation of one another's cognitive states[12].
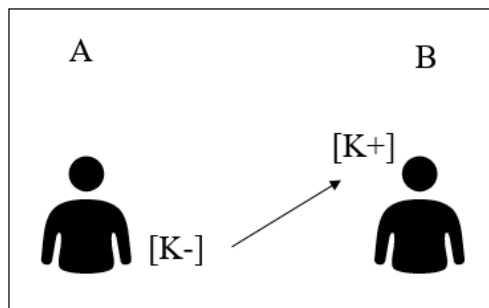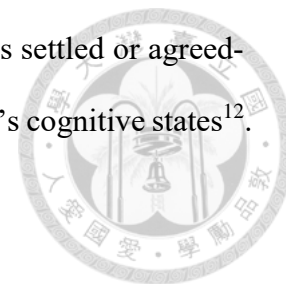
Figure 2.5 Epistemic Gradient

Of most interest in Heritage's work is his claim about the role epistemics plays in conversation. As he points out, when there is a consensus about who has primary access to a targeted element of knowledge or information, that is, who has primary epistemic status, then, quite surprisingly, this takes precedence over morphosyntax and prosody as resources for determining whether an utterance conveys or request information (Heritage, 2012b: 3). To be precise, if a speaker claims (or is understood) to be in a knowledgeable status, his utterance is going to be interpreted as conveying information, irrespective of its syntax or the accompanying intonation. If, on the other hand, a speaker claims (or is understood) to be in a less knowledgeable status, then what he says is going to be construed as requesting information, regardless of its syntactic structure or pitch. What follows is an example concerning a patient (a middle-aged woman with a daughter in her twenties) and a doctor:

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[11] Which might remind the reader of Labov and Fanshel's (1977: 100) contention that the five types of events they describe are "social facts" (c.f. section 2.1.4).

[12] By the way, Heritage (2012b: 25) conjectures that the increasing value, complexity, and necessity of keeping track of the epistemic statuses of a myriad of interlocutors—think about how many times one converses with others throughout his lifetime—might be a driving force for the increase of neocortex associated with ever-complex bonded social groups described in Dunbar's (2003) well-known "social brain hypothesis."

[from Heritage 2012b: 8]

1   DOC   Are you married?

2   PAT   No.

3   DOC →   You're divorced cur[rently].

4   PAT   [Mm hm].
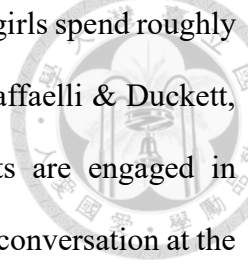
In line 1 the doctor inquires into the patient's marital status—which is something that the patient has previliged access to—by asking a question. Getting a *No* in line 2, the doctor goes on to make, as Heritage calls it, a "next best guess" about the marital situation the patient is currently in. Note that despite the declarative formulation the doctor opts for, line 3 is irrefutably heard as in search of information. The patient returns a positive anwer (though not a serious one), as if the doctor were saying *Are you divorced currently?*

2.1.7 Interim Summary

To sum up, studies over the past four decades have indicated that when people talk to each other there are complex cognitive processes going on in their heads. As Heritage (2012b: 24) notes, interactants must at all times be aware of what they take to be the real-world distribution of knowledge (that is, who knows what and who lacks what) and rights of knowledge between them. Different epistemic preconditions have different consequences, and speakers are obliged to be epistemically vigilant in order to not only produce but also comprehend utterances properly. In the present study, I will try to demonstrate what I call "epistemic transformation" by using naturally occurring conversation.

2.2 Conversation Analysis

Conversation is one of the most prevalent uses of natural language. It is the way in which people establish social bonds with each other and the mainstay of a functioning

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society (Liddicoat, 2011). Research has shown that by the 9th grade, girls spend roughly 16 hours a week, and boys about 8 hours a week, "just talking" (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). These figures do not include occasions when adolescents are engaged in activities such as eating, doing sports, or watching TV, *and* carrying conversation at the same time, but is limited to cases when talking is the *primary* business (not to mention that they have to sleep). As for college students, it is reported that 32.1 % of the "communication day" (that is, time spent communicating in one way or another) is devoted to listening—which excludes listening to mass media and music already—and another 16.3 % of it is taken up by speaking, most of which is done in the form of interpersonal speaking (Barker, Gladney, Edwards, Holley, & Gaines, 1980). Employed adults, on the other hand, spend two-thirds of their workdays communicating with each other by means of talking (Klemmer & Snyder, 1972). It seems fair to say that to picture a society where its members do not exchange language is to imagine the unimaginable.

2.2.1 Basic Assumptions of Conversation Analysis

Since conversation is integral to the social life of humans, it should not strike one as odd that serious attempts to work out the machinery whereby people interact through talk, collectively called "Conversation Analysis" (CA) nowadays, stem from ethnomethodology, a subdiscipline of sociology. This point has been emphasized by many scholars (Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002; Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; Lee, 1987; Levinson, 1983; Liddicoat, 2011; Psathas, 1995)[13]. Against this backdrop, CA is akin to sociologically oriented sciences in many respects. At the most general level, CA studies social activities and the way in which they are co-ordinated or ordered (Lee,

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[13] To say that an enterprise stems from some school of thought is one thing, but to evaluate the status of the former in the latter is another. In fact, the sociological study of mundane conversation has not drawn enough attention from researchers working in classical sociology yet. Verbal communication is more of a *recource* in the research process than a *topic* of research (Wooffitt 2005: 22). A similar sentiment of surprise or curiosity can be felt in Lee's (1987) introduction to CA..

1987). In other words, they seek patterns and organization. What follows are some of the basic assumptions of CA with slight modifications (Psathas, 1995: 2-3)[14]:

1. Order is orderliness produced by the parties *in situ*; that is, it is situated and *occasioned*.

2. The parties orient to that order *themselves*; that is, this order is *not* something imposed by the analyst for some theoretical/descriptive/analytical purposes but is collaboratively accomplished by the parties

3. Order is repeatable and recurrent.

4. Issues of how frequently, how widely, or how often particular phenomena occur are to be *set aside* in the interest of discovering, describing, and analyzing the structures, practices, procedures, etc. in which order is produced.

5. Structures of social actions, once discerned, can be described and analyzed in formal—that is, structural, organizational, logical, atopically contentless, consistent, and abstract—terms.

2.2.2 A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking

Given these assumptions, one of the most fundamental organizations of practice for talk-in-interaction recognized by conversation analysts is the organization of "turn-taking" (Schegloff, 2007: 1), a characteristic of conversation thoroughly discussed by Sacks et al. (1974). As they point out, the existence of organized turn-taking—the overwhelming fact that one party talks at a time—is something that the data of conversation make increasingly plain, and there should be a model for this organization such that it has the twin features of being *both* context-free and context-sensitive (Sacks et al., 1974: 699). The reason is simple—because conversation as a universal

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[14] It should be noted, however, that Psathas himself thinks the expression *conversation analysis* is a misnomer because, strictly speaking, it is not "conversation" *per se* but "talk-in-interaction" that is the focus of this academic realm. *Interaction analysis* and *ethnomethodological interaction analysis* are two terms he suggests (Psathas, 1995: 2).

phenomenon can accommodate a wide range of situations, including interviews, meetings, debates, ceremonies, to name but a few, in which people with any potential identities and with any potential familiarity operate, some aspects of the organization of conversation *must* be expected to be context-free. However, it is conceivable that examination of real data would reveal particularities that are specific to certain cases only. The point is, it is the context-free structure that defines *how* and *where* context-sensitivity can be displayed; the particularities of context that are exhibited in systemically organized ways and places are shaped by the context-free organization.

After examination of massive data, Sacks et al. (1974) propose a a model for turn-taking in conversation that is (i) locally managed, (ii) party-administered, (iii) interactionally controlled, and (iv) sensitive to recipient design. Such "simplest systematics," as they call it, are comprised of a turn-constructional component, a turn-allocation component, together with a set of rules, shown in Figure 2.6 below.
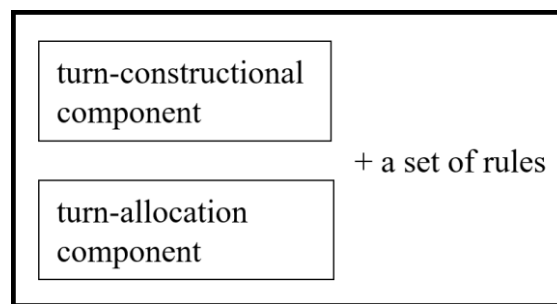
Figure 2.6 A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking

To begin with, there are a variety of unit-types with which a speaker may choose to construct a turn. A turn can be lexical (e.g., *Yeah.*, *Who?*, *Huh?*), phrasal (e.g., *On Mondays?*, *Met whom?*), or clausal/sentential (e.g., *Uh you been down here before havenche?, Was last night the first time you met Missiz Kelly?*) in nature. The first possible completion of a first turn-constructional unit (TCU) is an initial "transition-

relevance place" (TRP), a point where transfer of speakership *can* but need not take place. To have a grasp of what this means, consider the following made-up dialogue[15].
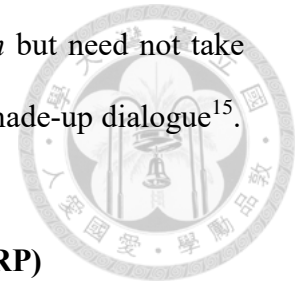
1   John   [So… are we going to the movies tonight?]$_{TCU}$ **(TRP)**

2   Mary   [I thought you planned to hang out with Dave.]$_{TCU}$ **(TRP)**

3   John   [Who?]$_{TCU}$ **(TRP)**

4   Mary   [Dave, the guy we met this morning.]$_{TCU}$ **(TRP)**

5   John   [Oh you mean Darrel?]$_{TCU}$ **(TRP)**

In this idealized example (in the sense that no interruptions or overlaps occur), utterances construed as turn-constructional units are surrounded by brackets subscripted with $_{TCU}$. Here we have three clausal/sentential TCUs (viz. line 1, line 2, and line 5), one single-word turn (viz. line 3), and one phrasal TCU (viz. line 4). At the end of each line is a transition-relevance place, where the other speaker, once recognizing the completion of the current turn, can speak, and indeed this is what each would-be speaker does.

Now let us turn our attention to the turn-allocation component and the rules associated with it. According to Sacks et al. (1974), turn-allocational techniques are distributed into (i) those by which the next turn is allocated by the current speaker's selecting the next speaker and (ii) those by which the next turn is allocated by self-selection. The following set of rules are thought to govern turn construction. To facilitate comprehension, however, I present Levinson's (1983: 298) simplied version, where C stands for the current speaker, and N stands for the next speaker:

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[15] I thank the webpage https://www.sltinfo.com/ca101-turn-allocation/ for this ingenious visualization.

Rule 1 (applies initially at the first TRP of any turn)
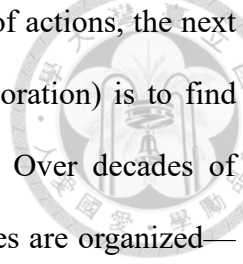
    (a) If C selects N in the enxt turn, then C must stop speaking, and N must speak next, with transition occurring at the first TRP after N-selection.

    (b) If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, with the first speaker gaining rights to the enxt turn.

    (c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects under option (b), then C *may* but need not continue

Rule 2 (applies at all subsequent TRPs)

    When Rule 1 (c) has been applied by C, then at the next TRP Rules 1 (a)-(c) apply, until speaker change is effected.

2.2.3 Adjacency Pairs

That said, a moment's reflection should suggest that turns do not, as a matter of fact, follow one another like identical beads on a string. As Schegloff (2007) points out, turns seem to be grouped in "batches" or "clumps" in which a number of turns somehow "hang together" or cohere. The consensus in CA is that these clumps are sequences of actions that have some shape or trajectory to them. It is by virtue of this organization that parties to talk-in-interaction can undergo meaningful conversation. Presented with a pool of turns, the conversation analyst would then ask: What could someone be doing by talking in this way? What does that bit of talk appear designed to do? What is the action that it is a practice for? (Schegloff 2007: 8). In this regard, conversation analysts approach natural language in a bottom-up fashion. Instead of decomposing pre-existing, *a priori* classes or categories of actions, one starts from singular bits of data, each embedded and situated, and seeks out what the speaker appears to be doing (which is indexed by how co-participants orient to the turns produced).

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Once turns are collected and examined in terms of sequences of actions, the next step (which is probably the most intriguing part of scientific exploration) is to find general patterns that can be isolated from myriads of instances. Over decades of research, scholars have identified the pivot through which sequences are organized— the *adjacency pair*. In its minimal form, an adjancey pair is characterized by the following features (c.f. Schegloff 2007: 13):

(a) It is composed of two turns that are produced by different speakers.

(b) The two turns are adjacently placed; that is, one immediately follows the other.

(c) These two turns are relatively ordered. One is termed the "first pair part" (or FPP), and the other the "second pair part" (or SPP). First pair parts (e.g., invitations, requests, warnings, etc.) are utterance types that *initiate* some exchange, whereas second pair parts (e.g., answers, refusals, agreements, etc.) are utterance types that are *responsive* to the action of a prior turn.

(d) FPPs and SPPs are "pair-type related". That is to say, not every SPP can properly follow any FPP. To identify an adjacency pair is to witness an FPP and an SPP coming from the same pair type. This is not just some doctrine or creed. In reality, parties to talk-interaction do not just pick some random SPP to respond to an FPP (consider the absurdities in *"Hello!"-"No, thank you."* or *"Would you like a cup of coffee"?-"Hi, there!"*). Instead, they choose to produce an SPP that is *contingent* on the preceding FPP.

It should become clear, then, that the notion of "adjacency" is central to the ways in which talk-in-interaction is organized and understood. Next turns are understood by co-

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participants to display the producer's understanding of the just-prior turn and to embody an action responsive to the just-prior turn so understood[16].

Granted, natural conversation undertaken by people are much more complicated, and strict adjacency pairs are not always observed. I will end this section by briefly mentioning a unique alternative to doing an appropriate SPP. Examine the following excerpt:

[Schegloff 2007: 17]

1   Pat   Do you think I'm insane now?

2   Doc   →   Do you think so?

3   Pat   No, of course not.

4   Doc   But I think you are.

In line 1 the patient asks a question (FPP), which makes relevant an answer in the next turn. Here we see that before responding with an SPP to this just-completed FPP, the doctor redirects the same FPP (modified a bit, though) to the patient in line 2. In other words, the direction of the sequence and its flow, so to speak, is reversed. Only after the patient answers the question in line 3 does the doctor offers his own answer. The doing of an SPP is clearly deferred, and the doctor's turn in line 2 is called a "counter".

2.2.4 Interim Summary

In sum, the organization of turn-taking for conversation is of great import in that it gives shape and coherence to stretches of talk and the series of turns in them (Schegloff: 251). The focus of such organization, as we have noted, is the contingent

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[16] Perhaps this is why Lee (1987: 22) treats studies in CA as "studies of understanding". For him, these studies deal with the issue of how conversationalists understand, communicate their understandings and use those understandings to make sense of their talk and hence to make sense of the world they live and act in.

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development of courses of action. It is by interpreting turns as clumps of actions that speakers can properly deal with, that is, "inter-act" with one another.

2.3 Studies on Irregular Cases of *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma*

The valuable writings of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in section 1.1 notwithstanding, language as manifested in reality turns out to be much more variegated than is conceived. In what follows, I will review studies that either directly deal with or merely touch upon cases of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* where no information is sought from the speaker and try to bring to light gaps waiting to be bridged.

2.3.1 Hu

In Hu's (2002) documentation of question tags in Taiwan Mandarin, she identifies three distinct discourse functions that the combination *hao bu hao* performs in conversation: (i) to request the addressee's evaluation of a proposition or consent to a suggestion; (ii) to mark directives/prohibitions to the addressee; and (iii) to express refutation to the addressee's statement/presupposition. The three functions, according to Hu, form a continnum from propositional meaning to expressive meaning.

To begin with, since the A element *hao* in the A-not-A format literally means 'good', it follows that, Hu argues, the basic function of *hao bu hao* is to request the addressee's judgment of the propositional content of its head utterance. Frequently heard between parents and their children, this propositional use usually forms an adjacency pair with its response *hao* 'ok'. Although it begs the question of why Hu lumps together the literal, truth-conditional use of *hao bu hao* and the pragmatic use of it at the interactional level (viz. to request consent to a suggestion), this does not pose too big a problem to the present study, since both cases are unquestionably recognized as questions[17].

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[17] "Question tags" as defined by Hu are structures that function at a level higher than language, i.e., at the "meta-linguistic" level (Hu, 2002: 3). Seen from this perspective, the first major function of *hao bu hao* that she identifies is problematic. The fact that *hao bu hao* requests the addressee's judgment of a sentential subject has nothing to do with pragmatics or interaction at all; it is something observed at the

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The second function of *hao bu hao* is to mark directives/prohibitions, that is, to ask the addressee to do or not to do something. What follows is an example:
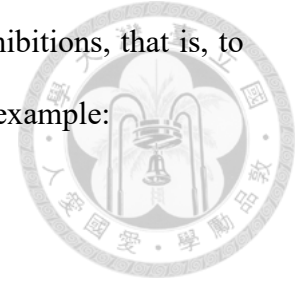
(7) [from Hu 2002: 73]

1	H3	heN，	送	了	一	箱	這個	玩具，		
		heN	song	le	yi	xiang	zhege	wanju		
		PRT	send	PFV	one	box	this	toy		

2	→	但是	這	玩具	真的	要	洗	一	下，*好*
		danshi	zhe	wanju	zhende	yao	xi	yi	xia hao
		but	this	toy	really	need	wash	one	CL good

3	→	*不*	*好*，	我	回	家	洗	了	很	久
		bu	hao	wo	hui	jia	xi	le	hen	jiu
		NEG	good	I	return	home	wash	PFV	very	long

4		耶	<@哈	哈	哈	哈@>			
		ye		ha	ha	ha	ha		
		PRT		ha	ha	ha	ha		

'He sent us a box of toys. But these toys really needed washing, ok? I took them home and washed them for very long!'

Although Hu claims that when *hao bu hao* of this sort occurs there is often a strong presupposition in the speaker's mind that he is "the right side" (Hu, 2002: 72) and the addressee is left with little latitude in choosing how to react, theoretically the addressee can still refuse to cooperate if he cares little about the consequence. Thus, function (ii) can still be broadly taken as a question.

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linguistic level. It just so happens that the subject predicated by *hao bu hao* is an abstract event or state of affairs.

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The most intriguing finding about *hao bu hao* is function (iii), the attachment of it to a statement that asserts the speaker's opposing opinion to the other party of the conversation. Observed mostly in heated quarrels or arguments, such *hao bu hao* requires no response and is said to "refute" the addressee. It cannot be viewed as a question anymore, as shown below:

(8) [from Hu 2002: 78]

1 G3 剛剛， 我們 在 討論 說， 妳 說 妳
       ganggang women zai taolun shuo ni shuo ni
       just   we   DUR discuss say you say you

2   喜歡 看 書， 妳 喜歡 看 什麼 書？
       xihuan kan shu   ni xihuan kan   shenme shu
       like   read book   you like read what   book
       'We just discussed that, you said that you like to read. What kind of book do you like to read?'

3 H6 → 喔，這個 很 厲害 啦，*好* *不* *好*， 書，
       o zhege hen lihai la hao   bu   hao   shu
       PRT this   very awesome PRT good NEG good   book

4   內容， 代表 她 成熟度. 看 什麼 書？
       neirong daibiao ta chengshoudu kan shenme shu
       content indicate she maturity   read what   book
       'Oh, this is very professional, OK? Books, the content, indicate her maturity. What books do you read?'

5 4   就， 小說 啊，不然 一些， 小品文 啊，.
       jiu xiaoshuo a buran yixie xiaopinwen a
       EMP novel PRT otherwise some essay   PRT

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6   對   啊.

          dui   a

          right   PRT

          'Just some novels, or some decent articles. Right.'

Hu's analysis is problematic, though. Without detailed explanation or a rigorous proof procedure, it is often hard to determine exactly *what* the speaker really tries to refute. For example, according to Hu, H6's *hao bu hao* in line 3 above is motivated by his assumption of the *addressee*'s contrary belief (Hu, 2002: 77). Upon hearing the question which G3 poses in line 2, H6 refutes the assumption that a question about what kind of book one reads is too easy. However, it seems weird and untenable to posit an assumption held by G3 which is in turn assumed by H6. Here G3 simply raises a question about an interlocutor's hobby out of curiosity and interest, and it calls for explanation for why, under such circumstances, H6 would assume that G3 regards the question as a trivial one and would even go on to refute this made-up belief. Such analysis seems unsound.

Excepting L. Y. Wang (2005), who incidentally finds non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in her study of the polysemy of the lexeme *hao* and treats both composite structures as "rebuttal markers" (similar to Hu's analysis), later researchers focus primarily on three issues—politeness, emotion, and negation.

2.3.2 Negation

Firs of all, the non-interrogative use of *hao bu hao* has been associated with negation in quite a number of studies. For Peng and Fu (2008), when what the clause preceding *hao bu hao* denotes is no longer an irrealis event (as in imperative clauses) but a realis one, the original grammatical meaning of *hao bu hao* (viz. to seek the addressee's opinion) is completely lost, and *hao bu hao* as a unit used in this way is

said to have developed into a function word that strengthens semantic negation. In the same vein, Gao (2009) points out that when *hao bu hao* follows assertions instead of requests its discourse function is not to seek the addressee's compliance; rather, it is used to remind the addressee of something by which the speaker can negate the addressee's opinion. This grammatical function, he continues, has been conventionalized. When used this way, *hao bu hao* cannot be replaced by *hao ma*. In Zheng and Shao (2008), *hao bu hao* is claimed to have turned into a discourse marker that signals negation, the cause of which is attributed to language contact with Taiwan Mandarin. Similarly, Tan (2010) argues that *hao bu hao* has "lexicalized" (Dong, 2002) into a *yuci ci* 'mood word' that strengthens negation[18]. Finally, H.-I. Liu (2008) and Chen and Liu (2009) interpret the non-canonical use of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* as "completely negating" the addressee's opinion.

Nonetheless, there is a serious problem with these studies. As Yu and Yao (2009) rightly observe, many *hao bu hao* instances in the aforementioned work, in actual fact, do not convey negation at all. Consider examples (9) - (12) below:

(9) [from Gao 2009: 100]

1		人	不	是	以	性别	来	区分	的，		
		ren	bu	shi	yi	xingbie	lai	qufen	de		
		human	NEG	be	via	gender	to	differentiate	NOM		
2	→	人		是	以	阶级	来	区分	的	好	不
		ren		shi	yi	jieji	lai	qufen	de	hao	bu
		human		be	via	class	to	differentiate	NOM	good	NEG
3	→	好。									

---

[18] It should be noted, however, that Tan seems to contradict himself when he says that the negation-strengtheing mood word *hao bu hao* renders the negation in the sentence milder (Tan 2010: 125).

hao

good

'Humans are not differentiated according to their genders; they are differentiated according to their classes.'

(10) [from Zheng & Shao 2008: 107]

1 A 你 说 该 不 该 去 呢？

ni shuo gai bu gai qu ne

you say should NEG should go PRT

'Should we go or not? What do you think?'

2 B 这 件 事情 弄 不 好 会 吃 上

zhe jian shiqing nong bu hao hui chi shang

this CL thing fix NEG good will eat up

3 官司 的。

quansi de

lawsuit NOM

'If we don't deal with this thing properly, we could get sued.'

4 A → 我 也 不 想 好 不 好？ 人

wo ye bu xiang hao bu hao ren

I also NEG want good NEG good person

5 → 在 江湖， 身不由己 好 不 好？

zai jianghu shenbuyouji hao bu hao

at world reluctanat good NEG good

'I don't want to go either, ok? Living in this world, we have no cother choice (but to do certain things, however reluctantly), ok?'

(11) [from Tan 2010: 123]

1	我	哪	有	欺骗	他？根本	是	我	被	他	欺负
	wo	na	you	qipian	ta genben	shi	wo	bei	ta	qifu
	I	where	exist	deceive	he root	be	I	BEI	he	bully

2 →	好	不	好？
	hao	bu	hao
	good	NEG	good

(12) [from Zheng & Shao 2008: 104]

1	A	又	开始	傻笑	了，	没	见	过	比
		you	kaishi	shaxiao	le	mei	jian	guo	bu
		again	begin	giggle	PFV	NEG	see	EXP	than

2	你	更	呆	的	人	了。
	ni	geng	dai	de	ren	le
	you	more	silly	NOM	person	PRT

'Here you giggle again. I've never seen anyone who is dumber than you.'

3	B	→	喂，这	是	本能	好	不	好，	不	是
			wei zhe	shi	benneng	hao	bu	hao	bu	shi
			INT this	be	instinct	good	NEG	good	NEG	be

4	谁	想	学，	就	学	得	来	的！
	shei	xiang	xue	jiu	xue	de	lai	de
	who	want	learn	then	learn	obtain	come	NOM

'Hey, this is my instinct, ok? Not everyone who wants to learn it can learn it!'

As one can see, negation in (9) does not come from *hao bu hao* itself but from the morpheme *bu* in the first part of the complex sentence. The two occurrences of *hao bu hao* in (10) do not convey negation either, for the proposition that *I want to go* is already negated by the operator *bu*. As for (11), the wh-word *na* 'where' in line 1 is used in a rhetorical way to signal negation (Guo, 2012); its presence alone turns the proposition *I deceived him* into a negative one. In (12) it is even harder to say what *hao bu hao* negates.

2.3.3 Emotion

The second issue that is often discussed is emotion. In many researchers' understanding, the non-interrogative use of *hao bu hao* is believed to express negative emotions. For instance, Pan (2009) argues that when *hao bu hao* is used to refute the addressee's opinion, it expresses contempt and dissatisfaction. For T.-X. Wang (2011), although the non-interrogative use of *hao bu hao* does not require the addressee's response, it signals the speaker's dissatisfaction. In Tan (2010), *hao bu hao* is said to convey the speaker's dissatisfaction when he is wronged by the addressee and tries to justify himself. Last but not least, Chen and Liu (2009) and H.-I. Liu (2008) argue that both *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* express "strong dissatisfaction" when they are used to criticize the addressee. What follows are some examples:

(11) [from Wang 2011: 49]

1	A	你	怎麼	沒		给	我	打	电话	呢？
		ni	zenme	mei		gei	wo	da	dianhua	ne
		you	how	NEG		give	I	call	phone	PRT

'Why didn't you call me?'

2	B	→	我	手机		沒	电		了，	好	不
			wo	shouji		mei	dian		le	hao	bu

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	I	cell.phone	NEG	electricity	PRT	good	NEG

3	→	好？

hao

good

'My cell phone was out of battery, ok?'

(14) [from Pan 2009: 50]

1	A	你	这	照片	拍	得	难看	死	了。
		ni	zhe	zhaopian	pai	de	nangkan	si	le
		you	this	photo	take	CSC	ugly	dead	PRT

'This photo that you took is damn ugly.'

2	B	你	没	看	你	自己	的，	那	才	叫	难看
		ni	mei	kan	ni	ziji	de	na	cai	jiao	nankan
		you	NEG	see	you	self	NOM	that	CAI	call	ugly

3		好	不	好？

hao bu hao

good NEG good

'You didn't see your own photo. *That* is ugly, ok?'

(15) [from Liu 2008: 61]

這	是	今年	的	流行，	好	嗎？
zhe	shi	jinnian	de	liuxing	hao	ma
this	be	this.year	ASSOC	fashion	good	PRT

'This is the fashion of this year, ok?'

Interesting as these claims may seem, they are intuition-based because the data in the above-mentioned studies are either fabricated (instead of gleaned from actual language use) or de-contextualized. Without ample proof, one can only remain agnostic about the relationship between negative emotions and *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*.
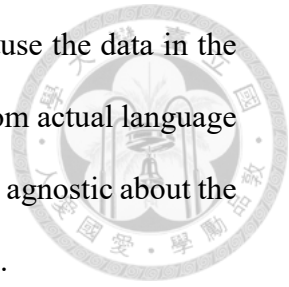
2.3.4 Politeness

The third major issue thought to be related to the non-canonical uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* is politeness. As a novel and yet impolite way of expressing negation, *hao bu hao*, Zheng and Shao (2008) argue, is more acceptable between spouses, relatives, and friends than between strangers or in the workplace. In the same vein, Pan (2009) claims that when *hao bu hao* is used to remind the addressee of something by which to correct him, it can be impolite and sarcastic. However, opposing arguments can also be found. According to Yu and Yao (2009), the refutation marker *hao bu hao* in contexts where the speaker straightforwardly denies information from the addressee is motivated by the former's concerns about politeness. After the attachment of *hao bu hao*, the degree to which the addresee's face may be threatened can be lessened. In Gao (2009), *hao bu hao* is said to protect the addressee's face when it is used in a context where the speaker makes an attempt to voice an objection. Finally, although H.-I. Liu (2008) and Chen and Liu (2009) treat the non-interrogative use of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* as performing negation, they maintain that the two structures differ in terms of politeness. Compared to *hao bu hao*, *hao ma* is deemed politer. Examples are given below:

(16)[from Yu & Yao 2009: 629]

1	A	小珊	1月	26号	结婚，	邀请	你	了	[吗？
		xiaoshan	yiyue	ershiliuhao	jiehun	yaoqing	ni	le	[ma
		Xiaoshan	January	twenty-six	marry	invite	you	PFV	[PRT

'Xiaoshan is going to get married on January twenty-sixth. Has she invited you?'

2	B	→	是	29号	结婚	好	不	好。
			shi	ershijiuhao	jiehun	hao	bu	hao
			be	twenty-ninth	marry	good	NEG	good

'(She's going to) get married on January twenty-ninth, ok?'

(17)[from Gao 2009: 100]

1	A	你	怎么	搞	的，	怎么	乱	写	乱	画
		ni	zenme	gao	de	zenme	luan	xie	luan	hua
		you	how	fix	NOM	how	mess	write	mess	draw

2		的，	本子	还	有	好	多	页	呢。
		de	benzi	hai	you	hao	duo	ye	ne
		NOM	notebook	still	exist	so	many	page	PRT

'What's the matter with you? Why did you write and draw (on it)? There're still plenty of pages available in the notebook.'

3	B	哎呀	我	不	知道	还	没	用	完
		aiya	wo	bu	zhidao	hai	mei	yong	wan
		INT	I	NEG	know	still	NEG	use	finish

4		→	好	不	好。
			hao	bu	hao
			good	NEG	good

'Hey, I didn't know that the notebook hadn't been used up, ok?'

(18)[from Liu 2008: 61]

這 是 今年 的 流行， 好 不 好？

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zhe	shi	jinnian	de	liuxing	hao	bu	hao
this	be	this.year	ASSOC	fashion	good	NEG	good

'This is the fashion of this year, ok?'

According to Yu and Yao, if *hao bu hao* were absent from B's response in line 2 of (16), the refutation would figure too prominently and would hence pose a great threat to A's face. Gao claims that *hao bu hao* in line 4 of (17) is much politer than ordinary lexical devices for negation such as *bu dui* 'NEG right', *cuo le* 'wrong PRT', etc. Liu concludes that (18) is felt stronger than (15), despite the fact that both express dissatisfaction. Again, since the data used in these studies are either hypothetical or presented in an out-of-context way, claims about the effect that *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* can achieve can only be taken as speculations.

2.3.5 Interim Summary

These problems notwithstanding, we have, example after example, witnessed a phenomenon that has never been documented in grammars of Chinese before. On the face of it, the composite structures *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* seem like interrogative expressions, and yet they have been shown to pose no questions whatsoever under certain circumstances. Put another way, given the right condition, *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* can be used in such a way that the speaker is not said to request or elicit any information from the addressee but the other way around, that is to say, to convey information to him. In the present study, this phenomenon will be termed "epistemic transformation," and the miscellaneous manifestations of it will be explored. For the time being, we can merge the current understanding of the Chinese interrogative system (summarized in Table 1.1) with deviant cases where interrogative structures do not "do their jobs" in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 The Uses of *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma* in Previous Studies

	Within a clause	**Outside a clause**	
		seeking information	**not seeking information**
Hao bu hao	A-not-A question	canonical tag question	ostensible tag question
Hao ma	mere linear stringing of morphemes	canonical tag question	ostensible tag question

Although it is worthwhile to explore the three issues (politeness, emotion, and negation) discussed above, it is believed that research into the non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* can yield fruitful results only after one answers the following questions:

1. What social actions/functions do ostensible *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* tags get done in talk-in-interaction?

2. In addition to the cases discussed so far, are there other non-interrogative (or non-traditional[19], so to speak) uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*? For example, can the non-interrogativity of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* be manifested not only in their functions but also in their forms? In other words, can one find cases of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* that, even from the structural perspective, cannot be deemed interrogatives?

3. Are there any commonalities between the social actions/fuctions that get done via these non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*?

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[19] In the sense that these uses have not been documented in grammars of Chinese.

Chapter 3:   Methodology
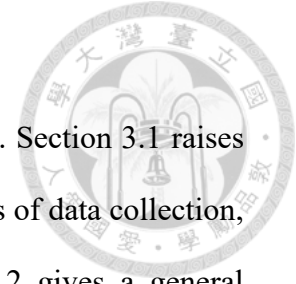
This chapter deals with the methodology of the present thesis. Section 3.1 raises several issues that need to be taken into consideration in the process of data collection, which is the very first step of scientific exploration. Section 3.2 gives a general description of the database selected and provides a quick overview of data collected from it. Finally, section 3.3 addresses the analytical framework used in this study.

3.1 Criteria for Data Collection

Finding suitable data for linguistic investigation has always been a challenge. It is a compromise between a wide range of theoretical and practical concerns, among which research ethics, data naturalness, and data openness stand out.

To begin with, as materials for scientific inquiry, the data one exploits is expected to be as natural as possible. For example, naturally occurring dialogues between friends, family members, collagues, classmates, etc. are some good sources to choose from, to name but a few. A naïve way to collect data, then, is to secretly record conversation overheard in one's daily life. Such eavesdropping, however, is unethical, for it is without the informed consent of the speakers and can engender legal problems accordingly.

To avoid unpleasant consequences, one may instead invite participants to an experimental setting to talk freely and have the chat recorded, which, nevertheless, creates another problem. Aware of the fact that they are being observed, participants may watch their linguistic behavior too carefully. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that speakers would stay alert to potential grammar errors in circumstances as such; of more relevance to linguistic studies is what speakers say and how they say it. If the experimental setting prevents participants from talking about certain topics or

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makes them speak in ways they normally do not (caused by, say, uneasiness), the data obtained would not be genuine enough[20].

That being said, there is a third issue to deal with, namely openness of data. In addition to requirements such as reasonable explanation and logical argumentation, a scientific study reaches ultimate rigor only when its data are open to re-examination— that is, when they are publicly accessible to later researchers. A way to meet this objective is to resort to spontaneous speech that has been *intended* to be recorded or even preserved from the very moment it is produced, for example, conversation in TV talk shows, which is exactly what is adopted in this study[21].
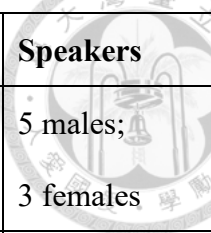
3.2 Data

The data of this study come from 25 episodes of *Facenews*[22], a well-known TV talk show in Taiwan. Each episode lasts for about one hour and forty minutes, in which pieces of news of the day are commented on by a panel of politicians, government officials, journalists, radio broadcasters, etc., with the talk being guided by a host and a hostess. In each episode, there are at least eight speakers. Overall, there are 31 male speakers and 11 female speakers (total = 42), their age ranging from 28-83 (mean = 51.38). Besides being native speakers of Mandarin Chinese, the host, hostess, and most of the guests invited can understand and/or speak Taiwanese too. Therefore, although code-switch is sometimes observed, it does not cause serious problems. Table 3.1 below gives an overview of the database of *Facenews*.

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[20] This may remind readers familiar with sociolinguistics of what Labov (1972a: 256; 1972b: 113) calls "the obserserver's paradox"—to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed.

[21] As its name suggests, a TV talk show is a show that contains a huge amount of talking. The fact that the participants in TV talk shows do a lot of talking can even be thought of as the sine qua none of this type of TV program, which is in sharp contrast to other types of TV shows, such as cooking shows, travel shows, game shows, etc. I hope that this fundamental difference highlights the advantage (or necessity) of preferring talk shows to other shows on TV. On the other hand, it has been suggested to me that what speakers say on TV talk shows are often guided by a procedure or script. Whether the same holds true for *Facenew* awaits corroboration. However, if a source of data meets two criteria but somehow only "sort of" meets the third criterion, it should be taken as the best source available.

[22] 新聞面對面

Table 3.1 Overview of the Database of *Facenews*

No.	Date	Title/Topic	Duration	Speakers
1	20180807	Average Monthly Wage in Taiwan	1:39:09	5 males; 3 females
2	20180808	Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party	1:39:09	7 males; 2 females
3	20180809	Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Twitter	1:39:10	5 males; 3 females
4	20180810	Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (2)	1:39:10	4 males; 4 females
5	20180813	Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (3)	1:39:10	7 males; 2 females
6	20180814	President Cai's Arrives in the U.S.	1:42:10	6 males; 3 females
7	20180815	China Boycotts 85°C	1:42:10	5 males; 3 females
8	20180816	China Boycotts 85°C (2)	1:42:10	5 males; 3 females
9	20180817	China's Military Report of 2018	1:39:10	4 males; 4 females
10	20180820	Residence Permit for Taiwan Residents in China	1:39:00	7 males; 1 female

11	20180821	El Salvador Breaks off Diplomatic Ties with Taiwan	1:39:09	5 males; 3 females
12	20180823	Taipei City Mayor Ke's "Identification Card"	1:41:33	4 males; 4 females
13	20180824	Southern Taiwan Stricken by Flood	1:38:40	6 males; 3 females
14	20180827	President Cai Visits Flood-stricken Areas	1:43:37	7 males; 2 females
15	20180828	Flood Victims Complain about Inefficient Government	1:43:36	5 males; 3 females
16	20180829	Controversial Political Figures	1:43:34	5 males; 3 females
17	20180830	Taipei City Mayor Ke Registers for Election Alone	1:43:36	4 males; 4 females
18	20180831	Taipei City Mayor Ke Calls Himself a Nut	1:43:35	5 males; 3 females
19	20180903	Taipei City Mayor Ke Maintains His Leading Position in Poll	1:44:09	7 males; 2 females
20	20180904	China Prepares for War on Taiwan	1:44:09	6 males; 3 males
21	20180905	Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage	1:44:09	5 males; 3 females
22	20180906	Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage (2)	1:44:09	4 males; 4 females
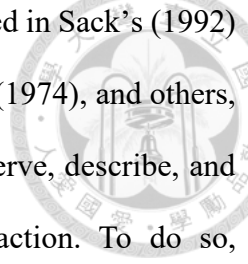
23	20180907	Interview with Former Governor Song	1:39:09	5 males; 3 females
24	20180910	Taipei City Mayor Ke's Political Moves	1:41:36	7 males; 2 females
25	20180911	Japanese Guy Kicks Comfort Woman Statue	1:42:09	5 males 3 females
			42:17:18	

The database satisfies all of the requirements mentioned in section 3.1 for the following reasons. First of all, since the host, hostess, and all of the guests in *Facenews* are public figures who are exposed to recording equipment on a daily basis, they are extremely used to being videotaped, which means it is less likely for the resercher to capture "insincere" linguistic behavior[23]. Second, the very fact that TV talk shows are intended to be broadcast to the general public solves the problem that would arise if the speakers' interaction were documented unknowingly. Finally, because each episode of *Facenews* is available on Youtube, any researcher/reader has access to the data, and claims or arguments based on them become falsifiable.

3.3 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework adopted in this study is Conversation Analysis (CA), a field of study concerned with the "norms, practices, and competences underlying the

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[23] It has been suggested to me that, despite the seeming fluency and smoothness presented to the viewers, what speakers do in TV talk shows, how they do it, and even when they do it, are guided by a pre-determined procedure or something of that sort (say, a script prepared by the crew of the show). Whether this holds true for *Facenes* as well is unknown. However, even if this is the case, a script-guided TV talk show still serves as a better material than pure drama, the lines in which are all uttered verbatim. After all, it is too far-fetched an ambition to find a perfect database. If one can find a data source which fulfils two criteria but somehow "sort of" fulfils the third criterion, then it should, for practical purposes, be taken as the best source available.

organization of social interaction" (Drew & Heritage: xxii). Launched in Sack's (1992) lectures in the 1960s and enriched by Levinson (1983); Sacks et al. (1974), and others, Conversation Analysis is a discovering science which seeks to observe, describe, and specify the social actions implemented in natural human interaction. To do so, conversation analysts dedicate their efforts to particular aspects of talk-in-interaction, including turn design, turn-taking, sequential organization, etc. Because findings only emerge through detailed, close inspection of recurring patterns of linguistic performance and co-participants' orientation to it, CA is basically a qualitative approach, and it may even "draw researchers' attention to apparently tiny features of interaction and explode their dimensions beyond all expectations" (Richards, 2005: 1). Therefore, however insignificant an observation may seem from the perspective of statistics (i.e., in terms of its sheer frequency), as long as it can be shown to be the result of dynamic interaction, it should not be dismissed as incidental or trivial. As Schegloff (1993: 101) emphasizes, "one is also a number." The present study follows this central dogma. Apart from verbal behavior, non-verbal cues such as eye gaze, facial expressions, gestures, postures, etc. are also deemed indispensable to the understanding of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in face-to-face interaction and are hence transcribed.

Though it is not rare to encounter studies of naturally occurring conversation whose transcription is based on the conventions set up by Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, and Paolino (1993), transcription in the present study is done mainly in accordance with the system proposed by Jefferson (2004) (see Appendix A), one major reason for which is the layout of the data. Considering the fact that the speech produced by the speakers in *Facenews* are rather lengthy compared to what one would witness in ordinary, non-institutional speech environments, the data used in the present study are *not* laid out in a one IU (Intonation Unit)-one line fashion. Rather, unless there are overlaps or interruptions, a new line will not be generated when the speaker's utterances

can be understood as a coherent chunk of talk lest the excerpts be too bulky. Last but

not least, for consistency's sake, *all* proper names in this study are transcribed according

to Hanyu Pinyin[24], the official romanization system for Standard Mandarin Chinese

spoken in mainland China (the P.R.C.).

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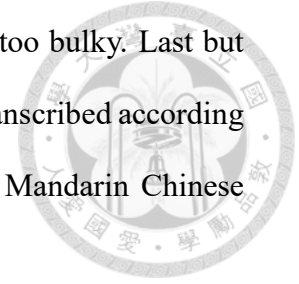
[24] Although Hanyu Pinyin (or simply Pinyin) is not widely used in Taiwan (especially when it comes to names of people and places), it is believed that alternating between two transcription systems can cause great confusion to readers who are not familiar with Mandarin Chinese. Thus, I apologize to readers who are native speakers of Chinese coming from Taiwan, who may at times find my transcription somewhat weird.

Chapter 4: Results and Discussion

4.1 *Hao Bu Hao*

Although the focus of the present study is on fake interrogative expressions that "do not do their jobs," we will first take a look at regular cases of *hao bu hao* that can be broadly understood as seeking information as a warm-up, which include A-not-A questions and tag questions (c.f. Chapter 1). Section 4.1.1 deals with instances of *hao bu hao* that are intended as A-not-A questions, and section 4.1.2 addresses cases of canonical *hao bu hao* tag questions, followed by fake tag questions in section 4.1.3 and cases labeled as "others" in section 4.1.4. For readers who are interested in the non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao*, sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 can be neglected.

4.1.1 A-not-A questions

As mentioned in Chapter 1, an A-not-A question is formed by putting two versions of a clause together and deleting redundant parts. Syntactic constituents other than adverbial phrases can all fit into the A slots, as shown below:

(19)[20180831: Taipei City Mayor Ke Registers for Election Alone]

1	C	→	>就是<	你	要	判斷	她	講	得	好
			jiushi	ni	yao	panduan	ta	jiang	de	hao
			EMP	you	want	judge	she	say	CSC	good

2		→	不	好	對	不	對	很	簡單
			bu	hao	dui	bu	right	hen	jiandan
			NEG	good	right	NEG	dui	very	easy

3			<TW 乎 TW>.
			honnh
			PRT

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'That is, it's easy to judge whether she said it well and right.'
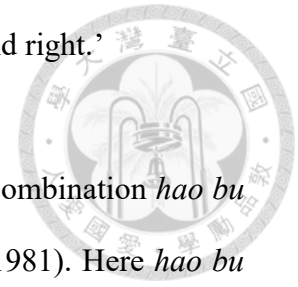
In this example, *jiang* 'say', the functional morpheme *de*, and the combination *hao bu hao* form a complex stative construction (C. N. Li & Thompson, 1981). Here *hao bu hao* describes the manner in which the event denoted by *jiang* occurs and it specifies two possibilities—saying something either well or not well. The same holds true for another A-not-A structure, *dui bu dui*, which specifies another two possibilities—saying something either right or not right. Notice that the proposition *whether she said it well and right* serves as the argument of the verb *panduan* 'judge' in line 1. *Hao bu hao* of this sort is interrogative in nature and will not be delved into in this study.

4.1.2 Canonical Tag Questions
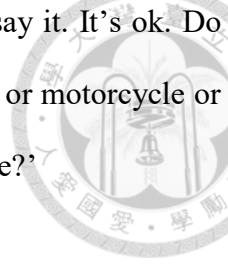
A canonical tag question, as discussed in Chapter 1, is a tag question that is produced to seek confirmation/permission/opinion from the addressee. In the following example, speakers H (何博文) and X (許淑華) are debating about the president, who is reported to have arrived in a flood-stricken area by armored car a few days before this day of *Facenews*. Prior to this excerpt, X (a member of the opposing party) has implied that such decision reveals the president's lack of political sensitivity. Feeling upset, H (a member of the ruling party) enters the talk by asking X to offer her own suggestions as to the vehicle one should use. However, in line 5 X refuses to cooperate by playing down the import of this question. Since the attachment of *hao bu hao* in line 4 is used in an interrogative way, such tokens will not be the focus of the present study.

(20)[20180827: President Cai Visits Flood-stricken Areas]

1	H	你	覺得	坐	什麼	車	妳(.)	沒關係	妳
		ni	juede	zuo	shenme	che	ni	meiguanxi	ni
		you	think	take	what	vehicle	you	it's.ok	you

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2 就 講. 妳 覺得 總統 坐- 是 騎 >腳踏<車

    jiu jiang ni juede zongtong zuo shi qi jiaotache

    just say you think president take shi ride bicycle

3 騎 >摩托<車 坐 消防車. >可 不 可以<

    qi motuoche zuo xiaopangche ke bu keyi

    ride motorcycle take fire.engine can NEG can

4 → [請 妳(.) 提供 意見 嘛[25].. 好 不 好]1.

     qing ni tigong yijian me hao bu

     please you offer opinion PRT good NEG good

5 X [不 是 說 坐 sh.. 不 是 說 坐 什麼]1

    bu shi shuo zuo bu shi shuo zuo shenme

    NEG be say take NEG be say take what

    車 [去 到 現]2-

    che qu dao xian

    vehicle go arrive

6 H   [我們 沒有 辦法 像]2 妳 做 這麼

     women meiyou banfa xiang ni zuo zheme

     we NEG way like you do this.way

    完美.

    wanmei

    perfect

---

[25] Following Chao (1968), Chappell (1991), and Chu (1998), I transcribe 嘛 as *me* to prevent the readers from confusing it with the final particle 嗎 *ma*.

H: 'What kind of vehicle do you think one should use? Just say it. It's ok. Do

          you think the president should take- Should she ride a bike or motorcycle or

          take the fire engine? Can you offer some suggestions, please?'

X: 'What vehicle one uses is not the point-'

H: 'We can't do things as perfectly as you do.'

Clearly, *hao bu hao* in line 4 is intended to elicit the recipient's opinion. Data of this sort will not be dived into.

4.1.3 Ostensible Tag questions

Ostensible tag questions as defined in Chapter 1 are utterances that look like tag questions (by virtue of the tags behind the host clauses) but which turn out to seek no information from the addressee. In what follows, I will focus on the social actions that *hao bu hao* is recruited to perform.

4.1.3.1 Correcting

Among the various social actions implemented through the employment of *hao bu hao*, correcting is the most conspicuous and recognizable one. When *hao bu hao* of this sort occurs, there is usually a discrepancy between different interactants' conception of the same thing, where this "thing" can be linguistic (semantic) or behavioral in nature. In (21) below, the discrepancy is between two speakers' understanding of the action a particular utterance performs in talk-in-interaction. Here speaker D (戴錫欽), a Taipei City councilor, is talking about the Kuomintang's (KMT) attitude towards Taizhong concerning the upcoming election at the end of the year. As he points out, Taizhong is deemed a "war zone," and the chairman of KMT is going to place a lot of resources in it (lines 1-4, 6-7). In receipt of this piece of information, speaker Z (周玉蔻), a commentator who has higher expectations of the candidate of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), produces line 8, *na ni yao bu yao fangqi taipei shi a* 'Then

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are you gonna give up Taipei?'. Notice that this utterance is prefaced by the connective *na*, which can, quite surprisingly, be used for both topic succession and topic change (Biq, 1990). Obviously, D (戴錫欽) construes this token of *na* as a new topic introducer, as evidenced in lines 10-11, and interprets the question as a deliberate digression. However, judging from Z's (周玉蔻) immediate denial accompanied by high pitch, she seems to feel wronged[26]. According to her, line 8 should be understood as her expressing care. The utterance-final *hao bu hao* in line 12, then, helps correct D's (戴錫欽) "accusation." As if this is not enough, Z (周玉蔻) adds that she is actually paying a lot of attention to D (lines 18-19). Following Fox and Japerson (1995), we can call *guanxin* 'care' in line 12 the "repairing segment" and *zhuanyi huati* 'change topic' in line 11 the "repaired segment."

(21)[20180807: Average Monthly Wage in Taiwan]

1	D	那	我	也	坦白	跟	你	講.	剛剛	委員
		na..	wo	ye	tanbai	gen	ni	jiang	ganggang	weiyuan
		then	I	also	frankly	with	you	tell	just.now	legislator
2		所	說		的...	吳敦義	跟	黨	中央	確實
		suo	shuo		de…	wudunyi	gen	dang	zhonyang	deque
		SUO	say		NOM	Wudunyi	and	party	center	really
3		把	台中	視	為	一	個	非常	重要	的
		ba	taizhong	shi	wei	yi	ge	feichang	zhongyao	de
		BA	Taichong	view	as	one	CL	very	important	NOM
4		戰區.								
		zhanqu								

---

[26] Though rare, misunderstandings of actions by recipients in conversation are *not* non-existent. Generally speaking, if the assignment of an action to a turn by the next speaker is not corrected in the following turn(s), this understanding is in some sense "good enough" (Levinson, 2013:104).

war.zone

5   Xie   Uh huh.

6   D   包括   吳   主席   包括..   集結   重   兵   都

baogua   wu   zhuxi   baogua   jijie   zhong   bing   dou

including Wu   chairman including assemble heavy   soldier   all

7   會   下   在   這個   地方.

hui   xia   zai   zhege   difang

will   put   at   this   place

((He keeps pointing at the table))

8   Z   那   你   [要   不   要]   放棄   台北   市   啊.

na   ni   yao   bu   yao   fangqi   taipei   shi   a

then you   want   NEG   want   give.up   Taipei   city PRT

9   D   [所以]-

suoyi

so

10   >沒有   沒有   沒有   沒有<.   蔻蔻   姐…   你   不要

meiyou meiyou   meiyou   meiyou   koukou   jie   ni   buyao

NEG   NEG   NEG   NEG   Koukou   sister   you don't

11   轉移   話題.

zhuanyi   huati

change   topic

12   Z   →   <H <@不是@>   我   關心   好   不   好 H>.

bushi   wo   guanxin hao   bu   hao

NEG.be   I   care   good   NEG   good

13   <H 我   沒有   [轉移   話題]₁H>.

wo   meiyou   zhuanyi   huati

53

		I	NEG	change	topic		

14 D
[你 也 不 能 否]₁認 嘛.
ni ye bu neng fouren me
you YE NEG can deny PRT

15
[如果 台中 國民黨 贏]₂.. [國民黨 年 底]₃
ruguo taizhong guomindang ying guomindang nian di
if Taizhong KMT win KMT year end

16
二零一八 這 一 局.. >是 不 是 就 可以< 算
erlingyiba zhe yi ju shi bu shi jiu keyi suan
2018 this one CL be NEG be then can count

17
贏 了.
ying le
win PRT

18 Z
[我 非常 認]₂真 在 [聽 你 的
wuo feichang renzhen zai ting ni de
I very attentively DUR listen you ASSOC

19
話]₃.
hua
speech

D: 'Then I'll tell you frankly that, as the legislator said, Wu Dunyi and the center of KMT really view Taizhong as an extremely important constituency.'

Xie: 'Uh huh.'

D: 'Chairman Wu, and (our) human resources will all be placed in this place.'

Z: 'Given this, are you gonna give up Taipei?'

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D: 'So-' 'No no no no, Koukou… don't change the topic.'

Z: 'No, I didn't change the topic. I was expressing my care, ok? I didn't change

the topic.'

D: '(But) you can't deny that if the KMT wins in Taizhong it is fair to say that it

wins the (entire) election at the end of this year. Am I right?'

Z: 'I am listening to you very attentively.'

Besides correcting what action an utterance is thought to perform, speakers can also correct the linguistic (semantic) aspect of a piece of talk. That is, one party to the conversation notices a "mistake" in the semantic content of what has just been said by another conversationalist and thinks it necessary to point it out right away, for the sake of proper communication of ideas. Consider (22) below:

(22) [20180810: Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (2)]

1	Xu	但是	總之	呢..	痾:	其實	馬	>總統<	他
		danshi	zongzhi	ne	uh	qishi	ma	zongtong	ta
		but	anyway	PRT	PRT	actually	Ma	president	he

2		已經	卸::任	了	啦.	那	所以	他.. 的	輔選
		yijing	xieren	le	la	na	suoyi	ta de	fuxuan
		already	retire	PRT	PRT	then	so	he ASSOC	help.elect

3		的	行程		是.. 如果	有	人	>找	他< 去
		de	xingcheng		shi ruguo	you	ren	zhao	ta qu
		ASSOC	schedule		be if	exist	person	find	he go

4		的	他	都	會	去.
		de	ta	dou	hui	qu
		NOM	he	all	will	go

55

5 Xie   >可是   蔻蔻<   說   這 顆 太陽   快 要 燒死

           keshi   koukou   shuo zhe ke taiyang   kuai yao shaosi

           but   Koukou   say this CL sun   soon will burn.to.death

6   吳 主席.

                   xu   zhuxi

                   Wu chairman

7 Z   →   [已經   燒死   了 好   不   好].

           yijing   shaozi   le hao bu   hao

           already burn.to.death PRT good NEG good

8 Xu   [燒死   不   會 吧:].   我們   吳 主席

           shaosi   bu   hui ba   women   wu zhuxi

           burn.to.death NEG   will PRT   we   Wu chairman

9   這麼   受   歡迎.

                   zheme   shou   huanying

                   this   get   welcome

10 C   吳 主席   生命力   那麼   強韌.

           wu zhuxi   shengmingli name   qiangren

           Wu chairman vitality   that   strong

11 Xu   對   啊.

           dui   a

           right   PRT

Xu: 'But anyway…uh…actually (former) President Ma has already retired. So…

      his schedule for election assistance… If somebody asks him for help, he'll go.'

Xie: 'But Koukou said that this sun (President Ma) is going to kill chairman Wu.'

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Z: 'It has already done so, ok?'

Xu: 'Kill? I don't think so… (since) our chairman Wu is such a popular person.'

C: 'Chairman Wu's vitality is so strong.'

Xu: 'Yah.'

Prior to this excerpt, speaker Z (周玉蔻) has just finished her comment on the power nucleus of the KMT, which chairman Wu has been excluded from and which has "stamped him to death." We can see from lines 1-3 that, when it is speaker Xu (徐巧芯)'s turn to speak, she does not intend to dwell on this matter any longer, as she produces the summative token *zongzhi* 'anyway' in line 1. However, prompted by Xu's mentioning of former President Ma, speaker Xie (謝震武) responds with lines 5-6, inadvertently bringing the topic back. Now the action of correcting in line 7, accompanied by the utterance-final *hao bu hao*, arises because Z notices a trouble in Xie's interpretation of the relationship between former President Ma and chairman Wu. In Z's opinion, Ma "has already killed Wu" (as opposed to "going to kill Wu," which is a prediction about the near future). Interestingly, since the correcting is based on personal judgement rather than objective truth (both *taiyang* 'sun' and *shaosi* 'burn.to.death' are metaphorical expressions), it is open to challenge or doubt. Indeed, this is exactly how Xu and C (陳東豪) react in the subsequent turns, both of whom provide reasons for their disbelief (lines 8-10).

Though the action of correcting arises from the gap between different speakers' construals of the same object, it does not entail that the corrector is always "correct." Sometimes, due to cognitive failures such as incomplete memory or distraction, a speaker may perform a correction that is ill-founded, and co-participants may not always stay alert to detect it. To see how this can be, examine (23) below:

(23) [20180827: President Cai Visits Flood-stricken Areas]

1   L   我　講　　　[的　　　是　事實].

              wo　jiang　　de　　　shi　shishi

              I　　say　　　NOM　be　fact

2   Zh   [<H 不要　　這樣　　敵]視　　　國家

                      buyao　zheyan　dishi　　　guojia

                      don't　this.way　hostile.view　country

3   元首　　　啦. 馬英九　　幹　了　八　　年　總統.

       yuanshou　　la　mayingjou　gan　le　ba　　nian zongton

       head.of.state　PRT Mayingjou　do　PFV eight　year president

4   我　都　叫　他　[馬英]₁九　　總[統　　　了　好　　不

       wo　dou jiao ta　mayingjou　zongtong　le　hao　　bu

       I　still call he　Mayingjou　president　PRT good　NEG

5   好 H>]₂.

       hao

       good

6   L   [所以　大]₁… [大家　大家]₂　罵

                   suoyi　da　　dajia　dajia　　ma

                   so　　da　　everyone everyone criticize

7   嘛.

       me

       PRT

8   Zh   可以　　嘛. 你　愛　[怎麼　　罵]₃　　沒　　問題.

       keyi　　me ni　ai　zhenme ma　　mei　　wenti

       can　　PRT you love how　criticize no　　problem

9   L   [大家　　　罵　　嘛]₃.

		dajia	ma	me
		everyone	critize	PRT

10 Zh 你 [發洩(.) 發洩 到 我 身 上]₄ 來 吧

ni faxie faxie dao wo shen shang lai ba

you vent vent arrive I body up come PRT

[好 不 好]₅.

hao bu hao

good NEG good

((He points at his own chest.))

11 L [現在 是 罵 大家 嘛]₄. [\<E OK E\>]₅.

xianzai shi ma dajia me OK

now be criticize everyone PRT OK

12 我.. 我 講 啊. 你: 說: 氣象 局 報 的

wo wo jiang a ni shuo qixiang ju bao de

I I say PRT you say weather bureau forecast NOM

13 不 準. 欸…

bu zhun ei

NEG accurate PRT

14 Zh 我 沒有 [說 不 準 啦]₆.

wo meiyou shuo bu zhun la

I NEG say NEG accurate PRT

((As he speaks, he frowns.))

15 L [我 那: 我 那]₆天 在… [那 天 的 那(.)

wo nei wo nei tian zai nei tian de nei

I that I that day at that day NOM that

16 那 天 的]₇ 那 天 的 那 天 的 預測

59
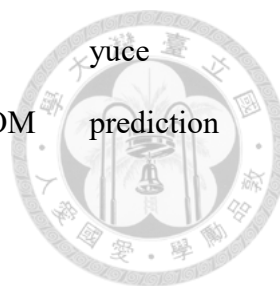
	nei tian de	nei tian de	nei tian de	yuce
	that day NOM	that day NOM	that day NOM	prediction

17 啊.

a

PRT

18 Zh → [我 說 常常 會 失靈 啦 好 不 好]₇.

wo shuo changchang hui shiling la hao bu hao

I say often will not.work PRT good NEG good

((He keeps frowning.))

19 Xie 嗯.

mm

PRT

20 L 我們 有 把 雨 量 出來. 有... 有 講

women you ba yu liang chulai you you jiang

we exist BA rain measure out exist exist say

21 出來.

chulai

out

21 Xie 嗯.

mm

PRT

L: 'What I said is true.'

Zh: 'Don't be hostile to the head of state like this! During the eight years in which

Ma Yingjou was President, even I called him "President Ma"!'

L: 'So… everyone can criticize (the president).'

Zh: 'Please do. You can criticize the president in whatever way you like.'

L: 'Everyone can criticize (the president).'

Zh: '(Come on), vent (all your hatred) on me.'

L: 'What you're doing is criticizing everyone. Ok. Let me continue. You said that… the forecast made by the weather bureau was not accurate. Well…'

Zh: 'I didn't say that the forecast "was not accurate."'

L: 'On that day I… the prediction… the prediction… the prediction… the prediction on that day…'

Zh: 'I said that the prediction "often doesn't work," ok?'

Xie: 'Mm.'

L: 'We made a measurement of the rainfall.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Prior to this excerpt, L (李富城, a weather forecaster) and Zh (莊瑞雄) have been quarreling about the current president's reaction when she arrived in a flood-stricken area for quite some time, during which L was exasperated by Zh's mentioning of his old age. As the debate proceeds, one can sense the tension between the two speakers surge, as evidenced by the recurring utterance-final particle *me* for insistence and obviousness (Chu, 1998). Finally, after the topic closure signal *ok* in line 11, L (李富城) makes explicit his role as the next speaker, temporarily enjoying the floor. Bearing a grudge, he recalls Zh's (莊瑞雄) comment on weather forecasts some forty minutes ago (see below), and seems prepared to challenge him as a professional (line 12). Clearly, Zh's (莊瑞雄) immediate refutation in line 14 shows that he considers what L has just said in the previous turn to be incompatible with his own memory. Eager to prove himself "innocent," Zh (莊瑞雄) offers what he thinks is the original diction

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(*changchang hui shiling*) in line 18 and attaches *hao bu hao* to it, resulting in what Murata (1994) calls a "disagreement interruption." However, based on the following fragment, it is indisputable that Zh (莊瑞雄), perhaps affected by the emotion-charged context (indicated by prosody and his facial expressions), "mis-corrects" L:
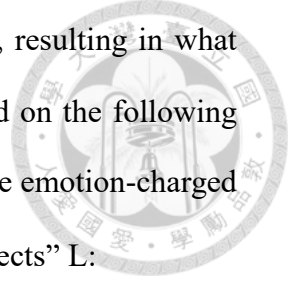
(24) [20180827: President Cai Visits Flood-stricken Areas]

1	Zh	啊	這	一	次	我	看	政府		所		做		的
		a	zhe	yi	ci	wo	kan	zhengfu		suo		zhuo		de
		PRT	this	one	time	I	see	government		SUO		do		NOM

2		判斷		也	都	要	依照	專家	的		建議.
		panduan		ye	dou	yao	yizhao	zhuanjia	de		jianyi
		judgement		also	all	need	follow	expert	NOM		advice

3	Xie	痾.
		uh
		PRT

4	Zh	氣象	專家	我	看	了	之後..	我	我-	其實	我
		qixiang	zhuanjia	wo	kan	le	zhihou	wo	wo	qishi	wo
		weather	expert	I	see	PFV	after	I	I	actually	I

5		對	氣象	專家	是	<H 最 H>	尊敬	的.	<H 可是
		dui	qixiang	zhuanjia	shi	zui	zunjing	de	keshi
		to	weather	expert	be	most	respect	NOM	but

6	→	常常		都	不	準 H>.
		changchang		dou	bu	zhun
		often		all	NEG	accurate

7	Xie	痾.
		uh

8	Zh	不	準	我	也	不	能	說	他	是(.)
		bu	zhun	wo	ye	bu	neng	shuo	ta	shi
		NEG	accurate	I	still	NEG	can	say	he	be

9		不	是	專家	你	知道	嗎.	因為	確實	是(.)
		bu	shi	zhuanjia	ni	zhidao	ma	yinwei	queshi	shi
		NEG	be	expert	you	know	PRT	because	indeed	be

10		天候	這[個	這]₁…	[太	難	測	了]₂.
		tianhou	zhege	zhe	tai	nan	ce	le
		weather	FILL	FILL	too	hard	predict	PRT

11	Xie		[對	對	對]₁	對	[老天爺	太	難]₂
			dui	dui	dui	dui	laotianye	tai	nan
			right	right	right	right	Heaven	too	hard

12		測	了.
		ce	le
		predict	PRT

Zh: 'And this time I can see that all of the judgements made by the government need to follow experts' advice.

Xie: 'Uh.'

Zh: 'After I saw the weather experts' (forecast)- I, I… actually I respect weather experts the most. But (the forecasts they make) are often not accurate.'

Xie: 'Uh.'

Zh: 'But even so, I still cannot say that they are not experts, you know? It's just that the weather is… too hard to predict.'

Xie 'Yes, yes, yes. The Heaven is too hard to predict.'

In this piece of talk, Zh (莊瑞雄) is giving a personal comment on the weather forecasts in Taiwan. In lines 4-5, Zh voices his respect for weather experts and prefaces it with *qishi* 'actually', which is equivalent to what Brown and Levinson (1987) call an "redressive action," paving the way for the about-to-come face-threatening evaluation *keshi changchang dou bu zhun* in line 6 (recall that L happens to be a weather forecaster). Equipped with this piece of evidence, we know that Zh's correction in line 14 of (23) is untenable. Note, however, that none of the interactants in (23) perceives the mis-correction; L simply begins his defense in line 20 of (23), and Xie (謝震武)'s attention is directed to it (indexed by the backchannel *mm* in line 21).

Before we leave this section, it is necessary to relate observations of the correcting *hao bu hao* to research on "repair" in general, the rubric under which correction is subsumed. As laypeople can attest, natural human communication is not perfect in the sense that speakers can always talk like machines whose utterances resemble edited, proofread written texts on paper and listeners readily accept linguistic input. What does happen, as conversation analysts have long been aware of, is that parties to talk-in-interaction recurrently encounter troubles or problems in speaking, hearing, or understanding the talk (Schegloff, 2007). According to Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977), the overt efforts to deal with these processing difficulties, collectively termed "repairs," are sequential phenomena consisting of two stages. In the initiation stage, the trouble is, in one way or another, spotted, identified, or located by either the producer of the trouble-source or someone else. The actual solving of the trouble, whether successful or not, takes place in the repair-outcome stage (or simply "repair," as it is called by later researchers). Since both initiation and solving can be done by "self" or

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"other," in theory repair comes in four possibilities, namely *self-initiated self-repair*, *other-initiated self-repair*, *self-initiated other-repair*, and *other-initiated other-repair*.

Nevertheless, possibility cannot be translated into probability. Research has shown that opportunities for self to initiate, as well as to perform the repair, outnumber opportunities for other to initiate or to perform repair (Fox, Benjamin, & Mazeland, 2012). Given this, it is a reasonable inference that other-initiated other-repairs would be extremely hard to find, and indeed this is empirically true. Even when they do happen, they are frequently modulated. In English, for example, speakers may add *I think* to their repairing segments or employ the *you mean X?* format to show seeming uncertainty (Schegloff et al., 1977). Viewed against this backdrop, the correcting *hao bu hao* is unique in that, except for example (22), in which there is only the repair stage but not the initiation stage, all of its usages are other-initiated other-repairs. Accordingly, we have good reason to argue that *hao bu hao* is a special other-correction strategy in Mandarin Chinese.

In addition to its distribution in relation to other variants of repair, the correcting *hao bu hao* warrants extra attention due to its "look," i.e., the fashion in which correction reveals itself. When a speaker corrects another conversationalist's utterances, he has latitude in presenting the correction as either more or less conspicuous. A *no*-prefaced correction in English, for instance, draws the producer of the trouble's attention to the fault, hence making it salient (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). In Jefferson's (1987) report on other-initiated other-repair, he distinguishes between other-corrections that are "exposed" and ones that are "embedded."[27] In the former case, there is noticeable discontinuity in talk; speakers are temporarily occupied with "the

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[27] For Levinson (1983), the term *exposed* is misleading and should better be replaced by *covert* or *implicit*.

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business of correcting." In the latter case, the correcting is done in a by-the-way fashion, as shown in Jefferson's example below:

(25) [from Jefferson 1987: 93]

1	Ken		Well- if you're gonna race, the police have said this to us.
2	Roger	→	That makes it even better. The challenge of running from the cops!
3	Ken	→	The cops say if you wanna race, uh go out at four or five in the
4			morning on the freeway…

We see that after Roger uses the word *cops* to refer to the police in line 2, Ken automatically follows suit, abandoning his original diction. The talk moves on smoothly, as if the change were invisible. In other words, the action of correcting is somehow "disguised." In the present study, the correcting *hao bu hao* of this sort is not found; all of its usages are exposed corrections. What follows is the final example:

(26) [20180820: Residence Permit for Taiwan Residents in China]

1	Xie	可是:	莊	委員	的	意思	是	你們	藍
		keshi	zhuang	weiyuan	de	yisi	shi	nimen	lan
		but	Zhuang	legislator	NOM	meaning	be	you	blue
2		營	的	人	要	小心.	>因為<	當	
		ying	de	ren	yao	xiaoxin	yinwei	dang	
		camp	NOM	people	should	careful	because	when	
3		宋.. >因為<(.)		廣義	>大家<	認為	是	泛藍	
		song yinwei		guangyi	dajia	renwei	shi	fanlan	
		Song because		broadly	everyone	think	be	pro.blue	
4		系統.	所以	你們	要	小心	他	會	吃 掉

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		xitong	suoyi	nimen	yao	xiaoxin	ta	hui	chi	diao
		system	so	you	should	careful	he	will	eat	drop

5

你們	的	人.
nimen	de	ren
you	NOM	people

6 L

我	>覺得<	那	不	是	藍	軍	要	小心.
wo	juede	na	bu	shi	lan	jun	yao	xiaoxin
I	think	that	NEG	be	blue	army	should	careful

7

我	>覺得	民進黨<	也	要	小心.
wo	juede	minjindang	ye	yao	xiaoxin
I	think	DPP	also	should	careful

8 Xie [@@].

9 L

[過去	我	>覺得<]-	兩	邊	都	要	小心.
guoqu	wo	juede	liang	bian	dou	yao	xiaoxin
past	I	think	two	side	both	should	careful

10

因為	過去	在	政局	來	看	我們
yinwei	guoqu	zai	zhengju	lai	kan	women
because	past	at	politics.situation	come	see	we

11

長	期	來	看.	所-	我們	在	討論
chang	qi	lai	kan	suo	women	zai	taolun
long	period	come	see	suo	we	DUR	discuss

12

所謂	鐘擺	效應	<TW 就是 TW>-
suowei	zhongbai	shiaoying	tiohsi
so.called	pendulum	effect	EMP

13 Zh

我們	現在	不	是	小心.	我們	現在
women	xianzai	bu	shi	xiaoxin	women	xianzai

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		we	now	NEG	be	careful	we	now

14 → 已經　是　大　麻煩　了　好　不　好.
　　yijing　shi　da　mafan　le　hao　bu　hao
　　already　be　big　trouble　PRT　good　NEG　good

((As he speaks, he raises his palm, fingers stretched.))

15　Xie　<@對　對　對　對..　真的@>.
　　　　dui　dui　dui　dui　zhende
　　　　right　right　right　right　really

16　L　對　藍　綠　都　是　麻煩.
　　　dui　land　lu　dou　shi　mafan
　　　for　blue　green　both　be　trouble

17　Xie　真的.
　　　　zhende
　　　　really

18　L　因為　<TW 過去　有　咧　講 TW>　鐘擺
　　　yinwei　kuekhi　u　leh　kong　zhongbai
　　　because　past　exist　DUR　say　pendulum

19　效應　嘛.　執政　黨　做　不　好
　　xiaoying　me　zhizheng　dang　zhuo　bu　hao
　　effect　PRT　rule　party　do　NEG　good

20　的　時候　就　會　擺盪　回來　在野　黨.
　　de　shihou　jiu　hui　baidang　huilai　zaiye　dang
　　NOM　time　then　will　swing　back　opposition　party

Xie: 'But what legislator Zhuang means is that you guys of the blue camp (the KMT) should be careful. Because when Song… because roughly speaking, people think he is pan-KMT. You should be careful, for he may attract you guys' votes.'

L: 'I think it's not only the blue camp that should be careful. The DPP should be careful as well.

Xie: ((laughs))

L: 'In the past I thought- Both sides should be careful. Because judging from the situation in the past, (if) we view (the situation) in the long run, the so-called "pendulum effect" that we've long been discussing is that-'

Zh: 'It's not that we should be careful. We are already in trouble now, ok?'
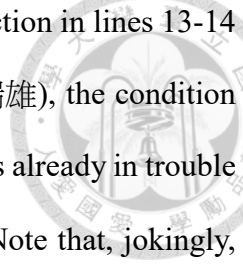
Xie: 'Yes, yes, yes, yes. That's true.'

L: 'For both the blue camp (the KMT) and the green camp (the DPP), (Ke) is a trouble.'

Xie: 'That's true.'

L: 'Because we've been talking about the pendulum effect in the past, right? When the ruling party does a poor job (in governing the country), (the pendulum) will swing back to the opposition party.'

The excerpt is taken from a discussion about a crowdfunding event initiated by Taipei City Mayor Ke (柯文哲), who seeks to continue in office. It is reported that some forty million dollars have been raised in twelve hours, which is in sharp contrast to the three million dollars raised by the KMT in twenty-four hours one day before this episode of *Facenews*. speaker L (李明賢) explains that former Governor Song's support is one reason for Ke's success, which triggers Xie's (謝震武) response in lines 1-5, issuing a warning back to L. After L (李明賢) points out that not only the KMT but also the DPP

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should be careful (lines 6-7, 9), Zh (莊瑞雄) makes an instant correction in lines 13-14 with *hao bu hao*, cutting off L's unfinished sentence. For Zh (莊瑞雄), the condition facing the DPP is much harsher than is felt by L (李明賢); the DPP is already in trouble (as opposed to a condition in which the threat has not come yet). Note that, jokingly, Xie (謝震武) expresses total agreement with Zh's (莊瑞雄) correction by repeating the position ratifier *dui* 'right' four times and adding a comment *zhende* 'that's true'. In line 16 L (李富城) gives in, accepting Zh's viewpoint, which is in turn echoed by Xie. Not until line 18 does L re-pick up the halted topic about the pendulum effect. We see that for a moment the speakers' utterances are occupied with the business of correcting. The trouble is evidently exposed.

4.1.3.2 Informing/self-informing

Another context in which the non-canonical *hao bu hao* occurs is one in which the speaker proffers a piece of information in a way that can be characterized as "informing." Since *hao bu hao* of this sort is closely tied up with the notion of epistemics, a pivotal issue in Conversation Analysis, a few words need to be said before we delve into real examples.

According to Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018), although most utterances can be said to contain substances that are worth attending to to a certain degree, not every utterance can, from the perspective of Conversation Anlysis, be aptly described as an action of delivering news or informing. For an utterance to be labeled as such, it needs to be shown to be designed specifically to report something newsworthy or informative to the recipient. That is, an information holder who is in a knowing position concerning *a particular domain knowledge* makes a verbal attempt to transmit a piece of information to the receiver who, if the news delivery or informing turns out to be successful, is expected to catch up with. Following Heritage (2012b), we can say that the former is in a [K+] status and the latter a [K-] one, where K stands for knowledge.

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Generally speaking, a [K+] speaker tends to provide information, whereas a [K-] speaker tends to ask questions, resulting in what Heritage (2012b:7) calls "epistemic congruency." New information, whether it is elicited from a [K-] questioner or volunteered from a [K+] provider, is, to use Heritage (2012b:48) wording, "grist to the conversational mill"; it initiates sequences and hence propels conversation[28].

A distinction between informings and news deliveries, then, can be made. An informing is an utterance that is made in response to a prior question (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018). It is the "second pair part" (Schegloff, 2007) of a question-answer sequence. If the answer satisfies the type of the information desired, it is "type-conforming" (Raymond, 2003). For example, interrogatives beginning with *where* in English makes a place reference relevant in the next turn, while interrogatives beginning with *who* projects a response that contains a person. As for polar questions, they specify that the answer be expressed in either *yes* or *no*. Based on empirical evidence, Raymond (2003: 947) argues that, with regard to polar questions, type-conforming responses are preferred to non-conforming ones and that speakers treat type-conforming responses as the default response form.

News deliveries, by contrast, are "first pair parts." Unlike informings, which are triggered by a speaker who seeks information, news deliveries are done actively by a news deliverer. Therefore, their newsworthiness need to be ascertained beforehand (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018), and news deliverers may choose from a variety of pre-announcement formats to prevent the news from being viewed as *not* new (Schegloff, 2007). For the time being, the focus is on informings.

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[28] On the other hand, if the [K-]/[K+] seesaw comes to a halt, one would witness what Jefferson (1993) calls "attrition," a state where the topic-in-progress atrophies because of lack of "new life."

To get a grasp of how *hao bu hao* can be recruited to perform the social action of informing, consider (27) below, an excerpt taken from a discussion about the tentative logo designed by the National Day Celebration Preparation Committee:
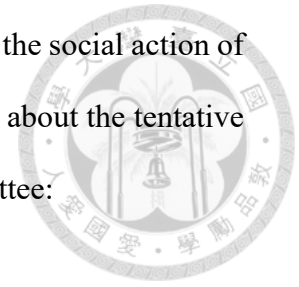
(27) [20180906: Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage (2)]

1	Xie	你們	覺得	這	整個	裡面	就	完全
		nimen	juede	zhe	zhengge	limian	jiu	wanquan
		you	think	this	whole	inside	EMP	completely

2		沒有	辦法	在	國慶	彰顯	出
		meiyou	banfa	zai	guoqing	zhangxian	chu
		no	way	at	national.day	represent	out

3		中華民國.
		zhonghuaminguo
		R.O.C.

4	K	不會	啊.	我	一		看	就	看	到	那個
		buhui	a	wuo	yi		kan	jiu	kan	dao	nage
		NEG	PRT	I	as.soon.as		see	soon	see	arrive	that

5		藍(.)	藍	色	的	球	啊.	跟	>我們	現在<
		lan	lan	se	de	qiu	a	gen	women	xianzai
		blue	blue	color	NOM	ball	PRT	with	we	now

6		青年	部	所	推廣	的	那個
		qingnian	bu	suo	tuiguang	de	nage
		youth	branch	SUO	promote	NOM	that

7		國民黨	黨徽	的	籃球	很	像	啊.
		guomindang	danghui	de	lanqiu	hen	xiang	a
		KMT	badge	NOM	basketball	very	alike	PRT

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8		我	就	覺得	哇	他	幹麻	替	我們	國民黨
		wo	jiu	juede	wa	ta	ganma	ti	wuomen	guomindang
		I	EMP	think	INT	he	why	for	we	KMT

9		來		做	宣傳.	但是	呢	這	如果說		它
		lai		zuo	xuanchuan	danshi	ne	zhe	ruguoshuo		ta
		come		do	promotion	but	PRT	this	if		it

10		是	個	創意	的話	可以	接受.	可是	你
		shi	ge	chuangyi	dehua	keyi	jieshou	keshi	ni
		be	CL	creativity	if	can	accept	but	you

11		要		放	在	[國家]-
		yao		fang	zai	guojia
		want		put	at	nation

12	G					[你們	現在]	不是	那	隻	雞
						nimen	xianzai	bushi	na	zhi	ji
						you	now	NEG	that	CL	chicken

13		嗎.
		ma
		PRT

14	Xie	@@@@@@
		((silence for over 1 second))

15	K	那	那	那	隻	雞	已經	被	吳	主席	給
		na	na	na	zhi	ji	yijing	bei	wu	zhuxi	gei
		that	that	that	CL	chiekn	already	BEI	Wu	chair	give

16	→	推翻	[掉	了	好	不	好].
		tuifan	diao	le	hao	bu	hao
		reject	drop	PFV	good	NEG	good

((She titters before she speaks))

17　G　　　　　　　[喔　　　是].

　　　　　　　　　　ou　　　shi

　　　　　　　　　　PRT　　be

18　Xie　　　@@@@@

19　H　　　　[@@@@]

20　G　　　　[@@@@]

21　K　　　不過　　你　如果說　是　要　　　放　在.. 國.. 　　國..

　　　　　　buguo　ni　rugushuo shi　yao　　　fang zai　guo　　　guo

　　　　　　but　　you　if　　　be　want　　　put　at　nation　nation

22　　　　　國慶　　　的　　那個　　雙十　　　來　說　　　的話.

　　　　　　guoqing　　de　　nage　　shuangshi　lai　shuo　　dehua

　　　　　　national.day　ASSOC　that　　double.ten　com say　　if

Xie:　'So you think the whole (design) cannot symbolize the R.O.C. in the national day?'

K:　'It's not that. The first thing I spot is the blue… the blue ball, which is similar to the basketball on the badge that is currently being promoted by the Youth Branch of the KMT. I even wonder why they tried to publicize the KMT for us. However, if this is just intended to be creative, I think it's acceptable. But if you're going to put that on the nation-'

G:　'Isn't your badge a chicken?'

Xie:　((laughs))

K:　'That that that chicken has already been rejected by chairman Wu, ok?'

G:　'Alright, then.'

Xie: ((laughs))

H: ((laughs))

G   ((laughs))

K: 'But if you're going to use that on the national day,'

On top of this stretch of talk, the host Xie (謝震武) produces lines 1-3, which, though packaged as an interrogative clause, is interpreted by speaker K (柯志恩), Deputy Secretary-General of the KMT, as a question. K replies that she does not think the logo is not symbolic of R.O.C.; quite on the contrary, she thinks it resembles the newly released badge of the KMT. Yet even so, it does not seem that she would endorse the logo, as can be seen from the unfinished sentence *keshi ni yao fang zai guojia* in lines 10-11[29]. Unfortunately, it is precisely K's (柯志恩) mentioning of the badge of the KMT in line 7 that arouses speaker G's (郭正亮) mal-intended interest in it[30] and that gives rise to lines 12-13. G's teasing seems to be remarkably effective, as evidenced by the laughter it engenders in line 14. Caught off-guard, K (柯志恩) pauses for a while and gives an awkward titter, after which she gives a non-conforming response to G's (郭正亮) polar question. In line 16 K attaches *hao bu hao* to the proposition that *the chicken has been rejected by chairman Wu*. On hearing this, G registers that he has received a piece of information and has therefore undergone an epistemic "change-of-state" (Heritage, 1984) from [K-] to [K+] by producing the news receipt token *ou*[31] in the next turn. Now that the imbalance of information between the asker (G) and the

[29] According to Y.–F. Wang (2005:494), the contrastive marker *keshi* seems to indicate that more clauses will follow. For instance, it may introduce a situation that is in contrast with the one described in the preceding utterances. Indeed, subsequent to excerpt (27), K explains why she does not think the design is suitable for the national day celebration. For space's sake, later utterances are not presented here.

[30] Among the top 10 candidates to be voted as the icon for the KMT, there is an outlandish-looking chicken that attracts the attention of mass media.

[31] Based on resemblances in phonetics and usage patterns in talk-in-interaction, the particle *ou* in Mandarin Chinese can be justifiably treated as equivalent to *oh* in English (see, for example Tsai and Huang 2003:180).

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answerer (K) has been equalized, the short-lived question-answer sequence is closed in line 17, chiming with Heritage's (2012a: 32) finding about the interaction between epistemics and sequence organization. Of additional interest is the element after *ou* in line 17. Generally speaking, what follows the news receipt token, if there are any, is a "newsmark" (Jefferson, 1981a) (e.g., *oh **did they?***) or news assessment (*oh **that's wonderful!***). What G appends to *ou*, though, is what Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, and Tao (1996) and Deng (2008) call a "reactive expression". A short non-floor-taking lexical[32] word, *shi* 'be' is produced by the non-primary speaker (G) in response to the primary speaker's (K) talk (Deng, 2008). Since G's (郭正亮) asking here is not a genuine inquiry, he does not really seem to care whether he gets a reply in return. K's informing is simply "continuation-receipted" (Heritage, 1984: 301-307).

If an asker can, owing to limited interest, respond to an informing with little excitement as demonstrated above, it should come as no surprise that, under certain special circumstances, even the news receipt token, presumably the quintessential component of a context of informing, can be missing. What follows is an example:

(28) [20180810: Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (2)]

1	Zho	蔣萬安	你	都	不		出來	我	就	要	罵
		jiangwanan	ni	dou	bu		chulai	wuo	jiu	yao	ma
		Jiangwanan	you	still	NEG		come	I	then	will	scold
2		你	了.	>可是<	現在	丁守中		要	拜託	他	
		ni	le	keshi	xianzai	dingshouzhong		yao	baituo	ta	
		you	PRT	but	now	Dingshouzhong		need	beg	he	
3		兩	個	要	合作.	蔣萬安	有	蔣萬安	的		

---

[32] Here *lexical* is meant as opposed to mere vocalizations.
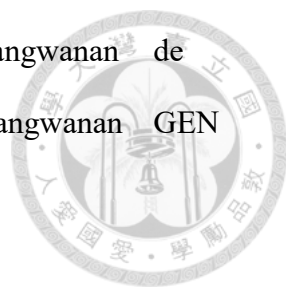
		liang ge	yao	hezuo	jiangwanan	you	jiangwanan	de
		two CL	need	cooperate	Jiangwanan	have	Jiangwanan	GEN

4 功能.

gongneng

function

((He frowns while he is speaking.))

5 G [丁守]₁ 中 　 如[果 選 上 蔣萬]₂安 要

dingshouzhong ruguo xuan shang jiangwanan yao

Dingshouzhong if elect up Jiangwanan need

6 [等 八 年 欸. 你 不要 這樣子]₃.

deng ba nian ei ni buyao zheyangzi

wait eight year PRT you don't this.way

7 Zho [我 不 重要]₁. [你 找 不 找 我

wuo bu zhongyao ni zhao bu zhao wuo

I NEG important you find NEG find I

8 不 重要]₂. [今天 蔣萬安 很 重要]₃ 要

bu zhongyao jintian jiangwanan hen zhongyao yao

NEG important important Jiangwanan very important need

9 [穩 住 基本 盤]₄.

wen zhu jiben pan

stabilize firmly basic plate

((He touches his chest, shakes his head, and frowns))

10 Xu [你 不要 再 ( )提 蔣]₄萬安 了 啦.

ni buyao zai ti jiangwanan le la

you don't again mention Jiangwanan PRT PRT

11 Zho [<H 再 供給 要 動員 要 有 陸軍 H>]₅.

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		zai	gongji	yao	dongyuan	yao	you	lujun
		then	provide	need	mobilize	need	have	army

12 G [對　啊　　不要　　害　　蔣萬安　　　啦]5.

dui　　a　　buyao　　hai　　jiangwanan　　la

right　PRT　don't　set.up　Jiangwanan　PRT

13 Zho \<H 要　肯　花　　錢 H>.　要　跟　它..　跟　它

yao　ken　hua　　qian　yao　gen　ta　gen　ta

need　willing　spend　money　need　with it　with it

14 \<H 幹 H>　了　跟　它　\<H 拚 H>　　了.

gan　　　le　gen　ta　　pin　　le

fight　　PRT　with it　struggle　PRT

((As he speaks, he raises both of his hands, his voice cracking.))

15 Xie 小平　　[你..你　怎麼　　講　　到]6 這麼

xiaoping　ni　ni　zenme　jiang　dao　zheme

Xiaoping　you you　how　talk　to　so

16 [悲憤莫名　　　　　　　　　的　　感覺]7.

beifenmuoming　　　　　　de　　ganjue

with.extreme.grief.and.indignation　NOM　feeling

17 Zho [唉:::呦]6.

ai:::you

INT

18 Gu [@@@@@@@]7

19 Xie 怎麼　會　這樣子　呢.

zenme　hui　zheyangzi　ne

how　will　this.way　PRT

((He turns to Zha after this line, but the camera fails to capture the whole

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movement.))

20	Zho	→	我們	很	怕	他	[輸	好	不	好]8.
			women	hen	pa	ta	shu	hao	bu	hao
			we	very	fear	he	lose	good	NEG	good

21	Xie				[孤	臣	孽子]8
					gu	chen	niezi
					lonely	minister	concubine-born.son

22		之	心.
		zhi	xin
		NOM	heart

23	Zho	[真::]的	嘛.
		zhe::nde	me
		really	PRT

24	Zha	[我]..	我	覺得	鍾小平	議員	講	的
		wo	wo	juede	zhongxiaoping	yiyuan	jiang	de
		I	I	think	Zhongxiaoping	councilor	say	NOM

25		東西..	他	是	值得	擔憂.
		dongxi	ta	shi	zhide	danyou
		thing	he	be	worth	worry

Zho: 'Jiang Wanan, if you don't show up, I'll scold you. But now Ding Shouzhong needs to ask him (for help). The two need to cooperate. Jiang Wanan has his own functions.'

G: 'If Ding Shouzhong is elected (as the mayor of Taipei City), Jiang Wanan has to wait for another eight years! Give him a break.'

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Zho: 'I'm not important. Whether you (Ding Shouzhong) come to me does not matter. Now Jiang Wanan is very important. (We) need to keep our basic votes.'

Xu: 'Don't mention Jiang Wanan anymore.'

Zho: 'And then (we should) offer resources and mobilize people. There should be an army.'

G: 'Yah, don't mention Jiang Wanan anymore.'

Zho: 'We need to be willing to spend money. We need to fight, to risk it all!'

Xie: 'Xiaoping, why are you… why are you speaking with such grief and indignation?'

Zho: 'Alas…'

Gu: ((laughs))

Xie: 'Why?'

Zh: 'We're so afraid that he (Ding Shouzhong) might lose, ok?'

Xie: '(Seems that you have) the heart of a loyal minister (who is in despair).'

Zho: 'I mean it.'

Zha: 'I… I think what councilor Zhong has just said… is worth worrying.'

This multi-party conversation is centered upon Zho (鍾小平)'s anxiety about the KMT Taipei City mayoral candidate Ding Shouzhong (丁守中), who is reported to have put little effort into his campaign. Hoping desperately that the KMT can win the election, Zho (鍾小平) offers a series of suggestions with respect to human resources, financing, and attitudinal adjustment. Despite co-participants' successive overlapping talk (lines 5-6, 10, 12), Zho (鍾小平) clings to his floor, arduously making his way to line 14. Perceiving the enormous agitation Zho (鍾小平) is currently in (indexed by his facial expressions in lines1-4, 9; body language in lines 9, 14; and voice quality in lines 11,

13, 14), Xie (謝震武, the host) asks two questions in lines 15-16 and line 19, collectively making Zho's (鍾小平) response in line 20 relevant. Zho informs Xie of the reason for his worry, namely that he is afraid that Ding may lose the election, ending with *hao bu hao*. As if to ensure that his emotion can be felt, Zho (鍾小平) reinforces his idea in line 23, suffixing it with the modality particle *me* for obviousness and insistence (Chu, 1998). As the excerpt shows, the moment Xie (謝震武) finishes his second question in line 19, he turns to Zha (趙天麟), giving a bodily cue for him to speak next (and indeed this is exactly what Zha immediately does in line 24). Here we see that since Xie (謝震武) is occupied with the business of turn allocation, he seems to be distracted and hence the absence of the news receipt token *ou* that would otherwise be observed.

Given the peculiarities of TV talk shows, some of the patterns that one would normally expect to see in a context of informing turn out to manifest differently in the data of this study. Aside from the absence of a signal of news receipt, informings done via *hao bu hao* differ from typical informing contexts in turn-taking as well. To be specific, the one who performs the action of informing is oftentimes also the one who asks the question (i.e., the "first pair part") in the first place. That is, he answers himself. The following segment is an example:

(29) [20180828: Flood Victims Complain about Inefficient Government]

1	Zho	這(.)這些	官員(.)	做	事	都	豬頭豬腦	你
		zhe zhexie	guanyuan	zuo	shi	dou	zhutouzhunao	ni
		this these	official	do	thing	all	clumsily	you
2		>知道<	嗎.	為什麼		呢.	今天	誰 說.. 弄 一
		zhidao	ma	weishenme		ne	jintian	shui shuo nong yi
		know	PRT	why		PRT	today	who say make one

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3		個	滯洪池		怎樣.	<H 不:是:H>	嘛.	你	今天
		ge	zhihongchi		zenyang	bushi	me	ni	jintian
		CL	detention.basin		whatever	NEG	PRT	you	today

4	滯洪池		是	所有	的	大	水	>是	不	是<
	zhihongchi		shi	suoyou	de	da	shui	shi	bu	shi
	detention.basin		be	all	NOM	big	water	be	NEG	be

5	已經	到	了	雨量	真的	很	大.
	yijing	dao	le	yuliang	zhende	hen	da
	already	arrive	PFV	rainfall	really	very	big

((He closes his eyes and reaches out both of his hands, with palms curving and facing upward, forming a bowl-like shape.))

6	Xie	<E Yap E>
		yap
		yap

7	Zho	那(.)	雨量	哪裡	來.
		na	yuliang	nali	lai
		then	rainfall	where	come

8	Xie	嗯.
		mm
		PRT

9	Zho	→	雨量	從	<H 山	上	來	好	不
			yuliang	cong	shan	shang	lai	hao	bu
			rainfall	from	mountain	up	come	good	NEG

10		→	好 H>.	我	講(.)	我	講	那個	概念.	你	山
			hao	wuo	jiang	wuo	jiang	nage	gainian	ni	shan
			good	I	say	I	say	that	concept	you	mountain

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11		上	濫墾濫伐.	因為	所有	的	監督
		shang	lankenlanfa	yinwei	suoyou	de	jiandu
		up	deforest	because	all	NOM	supervise
12		權..	取締	權	都	是	縣市長.
		quan	quidi	quan	dou	shi	xianshizhang
		power	crack.down	power	all	be	mayor.and.magistrate
13	Xie	嗯.					
		mm					
		PRT					
14	Zho	縣市長		為了	票.. 都 不		敢 動.
		xianshizhang		weile	piao dou bu		gan dong
		mayor.and magistrate		for	vote all NEG		dare move
		((He raises his finger.))					

Zho: 'These… these officials are stupid and clumsy, you know? Why do I say so? Who says that (it is wrong to) build a detention basin? Come on, the rainfall is really quite enormous, isn't it?'

Xie: 'Yap.'

Zho: 'Then where does the rainfall come from?'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Zho: 'The rainfall comes from the mountains, ok? I'm… I'm talking about the concept. You guys deforested the mountainous areas. Because all of the power to supervise (deforestation), to crack down on (these crimes), are in the hands of mayors and magistrates.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Zho: 'Mayors and magistrates, fearing that they may lose votes, do not dare to deal with (these crimes).'
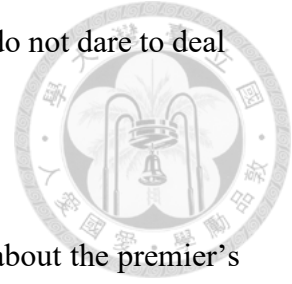
Prior to this excerpt, Zho (鍾小平) has just finished his complaint about the premier's comment on a flood several days ago. Now as he enters the excerpt, he directs his attention to the flood itself. Given that the amount of the rainfall is a piece of public domain knowledge, this is presumably something that Zho (鍾小平) should know. The purpose of the *shi-bu-shi* question in lines 4-5, then, is unlikely to be a real inquiry. Rather, it helps reduce Zho's (鍾小平) epistemic authority and makes negotiation between interlocutors possible, so that both parties can reach a consensus regarding a particular matter (Tsai, 2017). After Xie's (謝震武) confirmation (cf. *yap* in line 6), Zho (鍾小平) asks yet another question, focusing on the source of the rainfall. This time Xie (謝震武) does not give an answer but produces a backchannel *mm* only. In line 9 Zho (鍾小平) gives the answer (that the rainfall comes from the mountains) himself, and attaches *hao bu hao* to it. As the reader may recall, an informing is the second pair part of a question-answer sequence in conversation. The informer in (29), however, is also the answerer. It is for this reason that I term such cases "self-informings."

In addition to guests, the self-informing *hao bu hao* can also be produced by the host, demonstrated by (30) below:

(30) [20180830: Taipei City Mayor Ke Registers for Election Alone]

1	Xie	民進黨	為了		展現	團結	的	氣勢.
		minjindang	weile		zhanxian	tuanjie	de	qishi
		DPP	in.order.to		show	unite	NOM	atmosphere
2		所有	的	包括	地方	的	民意代表	

suo de baogua difang de minyidaibiao
all NOM include local NOM elected.representative

3　大概 從 立委 到 議員 啊. 幾乎 全 都
dagai cong liwei dao yiyuan a jihu quan dou
roughly from legislator to councilor PRT almost all all

4　到. 那 去 展現 那樣 一 個 氣勢. 那
dao na qu zhanxian nayang yi ge qishi na
arrive and to show that.way one CL attitude as.for

5　柯<E P E> 呢 就是 這樣. 他 就 一 個
keP ne jiushi zheyang ta jiu yi ge
Ke Wenzhe PRT EMP this.way he only one CL

6　人 帶 [個 幕僚 帶] 去.
ren dai ge muliao dai qu
person bring CL policy.advisor bring go

7　G [是:].
shi
be

8　Xie 連 爸 媽 都(.) 都 不 在.
lian ba ma dou dou bu zai
even father mother still still NEG present

9　為什麼 呢.
weishenme ne
why PRT

10　G 對.
dui
right

11 Xie 因為　　爸　　媽　　[去]₁彰化　　[幫　　黃文玲

yinwei ba ma qu zhanghua bang huangwenling

because father mother go Zhanghua help Huangwenling

→ 了]₂ >好　　不　　好<.

le hao bu hao

PRT good NEG good

12 G [去]₁　　　　　[彰化]₂

qu zhanghua

go Zhanghua

13 G 嗯.

mm

PRT

((She nods her head.))

14 Xie 那　幫　　黃文玲　　　　的　　過程(.)　　還　有

na bang huangwenling de guocheng hai you

and help Huangwenling NOM process yet exist

15 一　個　布條.

yi ge butiao

one CL cloth

Xie: 'In order to show that the DPP was united, almost all of the local elected representatives, including legislators, councilors, and the like, all showed up. As for Ke P (Ke Wenzhe), he simply brought a policy advisor there. That's all.'

G: 'Yes.'

Xie: 'Even his parents weren't there. Why?'

G: 'That's right.'

Xie: 'Because his parents went to Zhanghua to help Huang Wenling, ok?'

G: 'Go.'   'Zhanghua.'

       'Mm.'

Xie: 'And in the middle of it, there was a piece of cloth.'

In lines 1-4 Xie (謝震武, the host) gives a brief report of the gathering of political figures of the DPP in Taipei on the second day of election registration, which is in sharp contrast to what Taipei City Mayor Ke (柯文哲), who sought to run for re-election, did (lines 5-6). Surprisingly, Ke showed up with almost no staff. As Xie (謝震武) points out, Ke was not even accompanied by his parents. In line 9 Xie (謝震武) produces a *wh*-question, which makes relevant a response that contains a reason or explanation. It bears noting, however, that G's (谷懷萱, the hostess) *dui* 'right' in line 10 is not an answer to the interrogative itself; it is bland confirmation of the statement (line 8) before it. In lines 11-12 Xie (謝震武) reports the reason for Ke's parents' absence and suffixes it with *hao bu hao*, hence informing himself. As the hostess of the talk show, G (谷懷萱) is undoubtedly cognizant of this incident[33], which explains why she gives a mere backchannel *mm* in return (line 13) instead of a news receipt token such as *ou*.

Before we leave this section, a reasonable question that may arise at this juncture is why one would bother to employ *hao bu hao* to inform himself. A plausible explanation is for the sake of "conversational focus." In Freed's (1994) survey of questions in English conversation, she identifies sixteen distinct functions a question

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[33] The two "co-operative interruptions" (Murata, 1994) in line 12 are evidence that G knows the answer to the question in line 9. According to Murata (1994: 387), a co-operative interruption takes place when a conversational partner joins the current speaker's utterance by supplying a word or a phrase for which the speaker is searching, or even completes it for him. The intention of a co-operative interrupter is to make the conversation "flow", although on the face of it his utterance interrupts the current speaker's.

might serve. According to her, a question for conversational focus is one that "refers the hearer to the informational content contained in what the current speaker is about to utter or about the direction the conversation is about to take" (Freed, 1994: 629). In other words, presented with this verbal "trailer" or "pointer," the listener is made ready to receive the impending topic or matter. Communication and comprehension would thus become much easier. Freed regards such questions as "pre-announcements" (Levinson, 1983). In the present study, the self-informing *hao bu hao* is found to behave similarly. Apart from (29) and (30), the following lengthy excerpt is another example:

(31) [20180906: Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage (2)]

1	Xie	那	鄺(.)	鄺麗貞		到底	怎麼	出來	的.
		na	kuang	kuanglizhen		daodi	zenme	chulai	de
		then	Kuang	Kuanglizhen		on.earth	how	out	NOM.

2	K	她	就		突然	殺	出來.	但是	我	不	>覺得<
		ta	jiu		turan	sha	chulai	danshi	wo	bu	juede
		she	soon		suddenly	kill	out	but	I	NEG	think

3		對	他們	選情	會	有-	因為	你	只要	把
		dui	tamen	xuanqing	hui	you	yinwei	ni	zhiyao	ba
		to	their	condition	will	have	because	you	as.log.as	BA

4		吳俊立	把	吳	家	搞定	了.	>其實<	這	一	塊
		wujunli	ba	wu	jia	goading	le	qishi	zhe	yi	kuai
		Wujunli	BA	Wu	family	fix	PFV	actually	this	one	CL

5		>其實<	是	很	<E OK E>.	<H 因為 H>	鄺麗貞		本身
		qishi	shi	hen	OK	yinwei	kuanglizhen		benshen
		actually	be	very	OK	because	Kuanglizhen		herself

6		在	台東	縣長		的	任	內..	她	被

	zai	taidong	xianzhang	de	ren nei	ta bei
	at	Taidong	county.magistrate	NOM	term within	she BEI

7 >大家< 最 詬病 的 是 什麼. 颱風

dajia zui goubing de shi shenme taifeng

everyone most criticize NOM be what typhoon

8 [天 的 時候]₁ 她 還 去 ( ) 去 [介紹]₂ 世界

tian de shihou ta hai qu qu jieshao shijie

day NOM time she still go go introduce world

9 → 真 奇妙 好 不 好 或 [繞 著

zhen qimiao hao bu hao huo rao zhe

so amazing good NEG good or revolve.around DUR

10 地球 跑]₃… 類似 的.

diqiu pao leisi de

earth run alike NOM

11 Xie [颱風]₁

taifeng

typhoon

12 G1 [出國]₂

chuguo

go.abraod

13 L [@@@@]₃

14 L [@@@@@@@]₄

15 K 所以 她 [其實 在 整個 的 政績 上面]₄..

suoyi ta qishi zai zhengge de zhengji shangmian

so she actually at whole NOM feat top

16 如果 不是 她 的 吳 吳(.)不是 她 的

		ruguo	bushi	ta	de		wu	wu	bushi	ta	de
		if	NEG	she	GEN		Wu	Wu	NEG	she	GEN

17　老公　在　>那邊<　力挺　[的話]₅-

laogong　zai　nabian　liting　dehua

husband　at　there　support　if

18　G2　　　　　　　　[她 老]₅公　很　強　　啊.

ta　laogong　hen　qiang　a

she　husband　very　strong　PRT

19　K　我　覺得-　對　所以　他　很　強.　　所以　搞定

wo　juede　dui　suoyi　ta　hen　qiang　suoyi　gaoding

I　think　right　so　he　very　strong　so　fix

20　他-

ta

he

21　G2　所以　意思　是　說　就算　鄺麗貞　去　登記

suoyi　yisi　shi　shuo　jiusuan　kuanglizhen　qu　dengji

so　meaning　be　say　even.if　Kuanglizhen　go　register

22　了　出來(.)　也　是　孤　鳥　一　隻.

le　chulai　ye　shi　gu　niao　yi　zhi

PRT　out　still　be　alone　bird　one　CL

23　K　[我 >覺得<]₆-

wo　juede

I　think

24　Xie　[沒有　這]₆麼　大　的　[影響力]₇.

meiyou　zheme　da　de　yinxiangli

NEG　this　big　NOM　influence

25 K   [我 覺得   只要]₇

                                                         wo juede   zhiyao

                                                         I   think   as.long.as

26   吳俊立 挺   得   [住   的話]₈-.

    wujunli ting   de   zhu   dehua

    Wujunli withhold obtain firm   if

27 G2   [真   力量]₈ 是 她 的   老公

                                                         zhen   liliang shi ta de   laogong

                                                         true   power   be she GEN husband

28   啦.

    la

    PRT

29 K   對. 是 她 老公   嘛. 這 點   很 明確.   所以

    dui shi ta laogong me zhe dian   hen mingque suoyi

    right be she husband PRT this point   very clear   so

30   我 不   覺得   對 她 造成   太 大 影響.

    wo bu   juede   dui ta zaocheng tai da yingxiang

    I   NEG   think   to she cause   too big influence

Xie: 'Then how on earth did Kuang… Kuang Lizhen pop up?'

K: 'She just popped up out of nowhere. But I don't think this is going to have any

      (negative effects on)- Because as long as you can handle the Wu family, things

      could still be quite ok. Because when Kuang Lizhen was the magistrate of

      Taidong County… what was the biggest source of people's criticism about

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her? When there was a typhoon, she (took a trip abroad) to introduce the world

or ran around the globe or something like that.'

Xie: 'Typhoon.'

G1:   'Go abroad.'

L: ((laughs))

((laughs))

K: 'So, her feats as a whole… if Wu… Wu… if her husband Wu hadn't supported

her back then-'

G2:   'Her husband was a powerful figure!'

K: 'I think- Yes, he was powerful. So (if one can) handle him-'

Xie: 'Do you mean that even though Kuang Lizhen registered for the election, she

is no threat?'

K: 'I think-'

Xie: '(That she) doesn't have too much leverage?'

K: 'I think as long as Wu Junli can hold it-'

G2:   'Her husband is the guy who possesses true power.'

K: 'Yes. It's her husband. This is quite obvious. So I don't think she (Quang

Lizhen) will make much difference.'

This stretch of talk is about the conflict between two Taidong County magistrate candidates of the KMT. Originally Wu Junli's (吳俊立) sister Rao Qingling (饒慶鈴) has been chosen to be the candidate of the KMT. Nevertheless, Wu's wife, Kuang Lizhen (鄺麗貞), unexpectedly registered for the election too. Confused about this situation, Xie (謝震武) asks K (柯志恩), a member of the KMT, how this can be (line 1). Having no idea either, K chooses to talk about the consequence of this accident. In her opinion, the key to ending the turmoil hinges upon Kuang Lizhen's (鄺麗貞)

92

husband, and Kuang herself does not pose much threat. To establish the ground for her argument, K (柯志恩) mentions Kuang's weakness in lines 5-7, formulating it as an interrogative pre-announcement, which she immediately responds to by means of *hao bu hao* in line 9. Here the proposition that *Kuang took a trip abroad on a stormy day*, furnished with *hao bu hao*, is exactly K's (柯志恩) conversational focus. The intervening laughter and cutting-ins withstanding, K's self-asking-self-informing sequence from lines 5-10 paves the way for her conclusion at the bottom of this excerpt.

4.1.3.3 Delivering News

Having examining the informing/self-informing *hao bu hao*, now let us turn our attention to the news-delivering *hao bu hao*. Since news deliveries come first rather than late in a sequence, precursing pre-announcements help prepare the ground for the tellability of subsequent information (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: 270), as demonstrated in the following drawn-out excerpt:

(32) [20180817: China's Military Report of 2018]
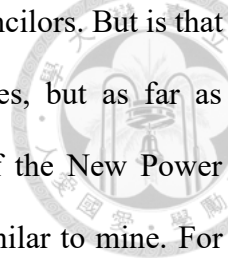
1	Xu1	好	我	要	講	最後	一	個	事情	是..	那
		hao	wo	yao	jiang	zuihou	yi	ge	shiqing	shi	na
		good	I	want	tell	final	one	CL	thing	be	NA

2	民進黨	的	市議員	會	去	講	說
	minjindang	de	shiyiyuan	hui	qu	jiang	shuo
	DPP	ACSSOC	city.councilor	will	go	say	say

3	像	梁文傑	議員	他	會	講	說	中山
	xiang	liangwenjie	yiyuan	ta	hui	jiang	shuo	zhongshan
	like	Liang Wenjie	councilor	he	will	say	say	Zhongshan

4	大同	松山	信義	士林	北投	會	可能	掉
	datong	songshan	xinyi	shilin	beitou	hui	keneng	diao

Datong Songshan Xinyi Shilin Beitou will likely drop

5
一 席 嘛. 去 講 說 民進黨 的
yi xi me qu jiang shuo minjindang de
one CL PRT go say say DPP ASSOC

6
選情 很 危急. 然後 民進黨 的 議員
xuanqing hen weiji ranhou minjindang de yiyuan
condition very dangerous and DPP de councilor

7
可能 會 受 到 >影響<. >可是< 真的 是
keneng hui shou dao yingxiang keshi zhende shi
likely will get arrive yingxiang but really be

8
這樣 嗎. 別 的 選區 我 不 敢
zheyang me bie de xuanqu wo bu gan
this.way PRT other NOM constituency I NEG dare

9
講. >可是< 以 松山 信義 來 說
jiang keshi yi songshan xinyi lai shuo
say but with Songshan Xinyi come say

10
我們 時代力量 其他 候選人 昨天 才
women shidaililiang qita houxuanren zuotian cai
we New.Power.Party other candidate yesterday just

11
公佈 一 份 民調(.) 跟 我 做 的 是
gongbu yi fen mindiao gen wo zuo de shi
release one CL poll with I make NOM be

12
類似 的. 其實 民進黨 的 市議員
leisi de qishi minjindang de shiyiyuan
similar NOM actually DPP ASSOC city.councilor

13
在 現在 目前 來 說(.) 都 是 穩穩地

		zai	xianzai	muqian	lai	shuo	dou	shi	wen-wen-de
		at	now	currently	come	say	all	be	stablely

14

在	中間		其實	基本上		很	有可能		會
zai	zhongjian		qishi	jibenshang		hen	youkeneng		hui
at	middle		actually	basically		very	likely		will

15

全	上.
quan	shang
all	up

16 Xie

嗯.
mm
PRT

17 Xu1

反而是	像(.)	以	我	來	講	我	才	是
fanershi	xiang	yi	wo	lai	jiang	wo	cai	shi
rather	like	with	I	come	say	I	CAI	be

18 →

[吊	車	尾	的]₁	好	不	好.
diao	che	wei	de	hao	bu	hao
hang	car	tail	NOM	good	NEG	good

19 G [@@@@]₁

20 Xie

<@喔	喔	這樣	嗎@>
ou	ou	zheyang	ma
PRT	PRT	this.way	PRT

21 others [@@@]₂

22 Xu1

[<H 我	自己	才	是	在]₂	[最後面 H>	真的]₃.
wo	ziji	cai	shi	zai	zuihoumian	zhende
I	self	CAI	be	at	last	realy

23 Xie | [<@真的 | 喔@>]₃.

95

					zhende	ou
					really	PRT

24 Xu1 而且　　其他　　區　　我　了解　　　都　>這樣<　可以

erqie　　qita　　qu　　wo　liaojie　　dou　zheyang　keyi

besides　other　district　I　understand　all　this.way　can

25 　　問　弘庭.

wen　hongting

ask　Honting

26 Xu2 我　也　在.. [我　也　在　最後面].

wo　ye　zai　wo　ye　zai　zuihoumian

I　also　at　I　too　at　last

27 Xu1 　　　我　[才　　是　吊　車　尾　在　最後　　一　名]

wo　cai　　shi　diao　che wei　zai　zuihou　yi　ming

I　CAI　be　hang　car tail　at　last　one　rank

28 → 的　　好　　不　　好.

de　hao　bu　hao

NOM　good　NEG　good

29 Xie <H 喔　真的　嗎 H>

ou　zhende　me

PRT　really　PRT

((He opens his eyes wide.))

Xu1:　'Ok, the last thing that I wanna talk about is…DPP city councilors, such as Councilor Liang Wenjie, say that they may lose one seat in Zhongshan, Datong, Songshan, Xinyi, Shilin, and Beitou, that the codition facing the

DPP is quite dangerous, and that this may affect DPP councilors. But is that really the case? I'm not sure about other constituencies, but as far as Songshan and Xinyi are concerned, some candidates of the New Power Party released a poll yesterday, the result of which is similar to mine. For now, DPP city councilors actually remain steadily in the middle positions. In fact, basically they may all get elected.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Xu1:   'Rather, it is I that am hung upon the rear of the car (=fall behind the rest), ok?.'

G: ((laughs))

Xie: 'Oh is that so?'

others: ((laughs))

Xu1:   'I myself am the last. I mean it.'

Xie: 'Really?'

Xu1:   'And as I understand it, this holds true for other districts as well. You can ask Hongting.'

Xu2:   'I'm also… I'm also the last.'

Xu1:   'I'm the one who's hung on the rear of the car, ok?'

Xie: 'Oh really?'

After the marker of closure and transition *hao* (Miracle, 1991; Wang, 2005; Wang & Tsai, 2005; Wang et al. 2010) in line 1, Xu1 (徐巧芯) utters a pre-announcement *wo yao jiang zuihou yi ge shiqing shi* 'the last thing I want to talk about is', followed by a cumbersome stretch of talk (lines 2-7) that constitutes the background of the impending composite news. In lines 12-15 we see the first portion of the news, namely that, according to empirical data, DPP candidates are pretty safe. Presented with this piece

of information, Xie (謝震武) responds minimally with the backchannel *mm* in line 16.

Yet when Xu1 (徐巧芯) proffers the latter part of the news (i.e., that she is the one who

falls behind) and suffixes it with *hao bu hao* in lines 17-18, Xie's (謝震武) respsonse

(line 20) is different. This time he produces the news receipt token *ou* plus a newsmark

(*zheyang ma* 'is that so'), a typical, preferred pattern observed in recipients of news

(Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: 275). In lines 22, 27-28, Xul (徐巧芯) reaffirms the

news two times more, both followed by Xie's (謝震武) surprise, suggesting that the

news delivery has been remarkably successful[34].

In addition to sequential organization, the prosodic pattern of the news delivery in

(32) also deserves in-depth inspection. Throughout the first half of this excerpt, Xu1's

(徐巧芯) voice quality is so normal that no special descriptions are added to the

transcription. Only when her later talk is interfered with co-participants' laughter in line

22 does she raise her pitch. After that, her pitch comes back to normal. After she repeats

the news for the last time in lines 27-28, Xie (謝震武) responds maximally with high

pitch and wide eyes, a phenomenon compatible with Freese and Maynard's (1998)

study on news in conversation. According to Freese and Maynard, because recipients'

(in this case Xie) turns are compact phrases or single words that are exclusively

dedicated to the news itself, they can attend more narrowly to "emotive displays." In

contrast, news deliverers, who are busy with formulating information as news, have

more complex tasks to deal with, which may explain why their behavior is less dramatic

than recipients' (Freese & Maynard, 1998: 213). However, such difference between

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[34] Some clarification is needed here. For one thing, because lines 27-28 overlap with Xu2's (徐弘庭) speech in line 26, they should *not* be taken as produced in response to it (that is, they are *not* occasioned by line 26). However, considering the fact that the message that *Xu1 (徐巧芯) is the one who falls behind* makes its debut in lines 17-18 already, the repetitions of it in line 22 and lines 27-28 by Xu1 (徐巧芯) might not strike recipients as news. Therefore, line 22 and lines 27-28 should be treated as "non-prototypical" news deliveries.

recipients and deliverers is not always salient; it is most extreme in cases like (32) above, when the news at issue is news about recipients themselves.
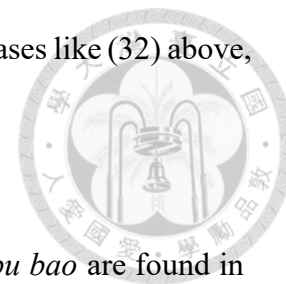
4.1.3.4 Reminding

In the data, a large number of the non-canonical uses of *hao bu bao* are found in contexts where the speaker is said to perform the action of "reminding." As the term is not a well-established category in Conversation Anlysis, it calls for a brief explanation.

As an action associated with epistemics, remindings bear some resemblances to other ways of conveying information yet differ from them in other respects. For one thing, they are like news deliveries in that both are placed in "first position"[35]; instead of passively responding to an information seeker who overtly registers his lack of knowledge (i.e., a [K-] position) or curiosity about something, reminders proffer information voluntarily and actively. For another, the difference between remindings and news deliveries lies in the assumption the speaker has about the information he is about to transmit. A news deliverer simply shares whatever he thinks is worth sharing, whereby to embark on a new topic, whereas what a reminder does is bring up a state of affairs which he assumes is vital to the current talk but which is somehow forgotten or neglected [36], as illustrated by Figure 4.1 below (the parentheses symbolize the reminder's assumption).

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[35] A distinction should be made between "turn location" and "position." The former refers to sheer sequential locus of a turn in a sequence by a count after some initial turn, whereas the latter refers to some prior but not necessarily adjacent turn (see Levinson, 1983: 348).

[36] Readers who cling to the philosophy of strict Conversation Analysis may consider it unsatisfactory to resort to language users' psychological states in undertaking action characterization, for the only thing that conversation analysts have acces to is conversationalists' speech (see Drew & Heritage, 2006: xxviii). Nevertheless, as long as such attempt can be proved to be helpful and even fruitful, a moderate amount of extra-linguistic explanation should be treated as acceptable. In Hsieh and Huang's (2005) study of the *qishi* construction, for example, they distinguish between simply "telling a fact" and "disclosing a fact." When a speaker discloses a fact, he has the pre-assumption that the addressee does not know it. According to Hsieh and Huang, this is an "A-event" (Labov and Fanshel, 1977: 100) disclosing. In this study, however, I adopt a plainer label term.
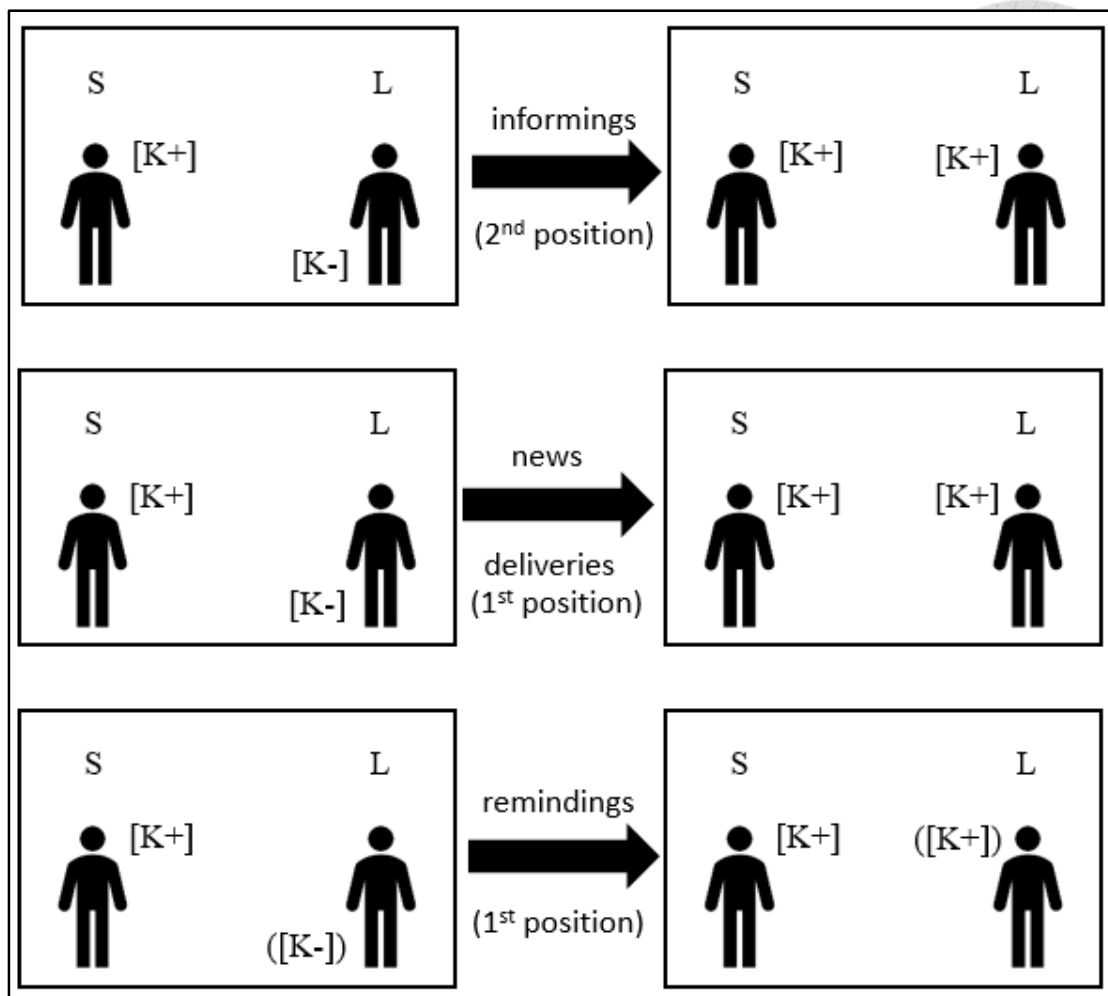
Figure 4.1 Epistemic Structures of Informings, News Deliveries, and Remindings[37]

(S stands for speaker, L stands for listener, and K stands for knowledge.)

Excerpt (33) below is an exemplar of the reminding *hao bu hao*. Prior to this stretch of talk, speaker C (陳敏鳳) has reported that she once joined a "friend-finding event" on Line[38]. Because she was recognized by other participants as soon as she joined the group, the reason for which she did not speak of, she immediately left. Now thanks to H's (黃暐瀚) introduction to the procedure for joining the event (lines 4-6, 8), Xie (謝震武) makes an inference about how C (陳敏鳳) was recognized (lines 11-12), which is instantly rejected by C herself in the next turn, though. Confused, Xie (謝震武) asks a *how*-question in lines 18-19, which is answered in lines 20-22. Being

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[37] Adapted from (Heritage, 2012b).
[38] An instant messaging mobile app.

informed, both Xie and G1 (谷懷萱) produce the change-of-state token *ou* in return (lines 23-24), marking the closure of this accidental digression. Perhaps prompted by other conversationalists' overreactions (indexed by their voice quality in lines 15, 17-18; and facial expressions in lines 15, 19), C (陳敏鳳) utters a supplementary sentence in line 25 and ends it with *hao bu hao*, as if to ask them to take into consideration her intelligence as part of the background knowledge of this discussion. Note that different recipients react differently to this piece of information. Xie's (謝震武, the host) response in line 26 is *ou*-prefaced, signaling that the fact that C (陳敏鳳) was not that silly has now entered his scope of awareness. The subsequent reduplication of the "shell noun" *zheyang* serves as a continuer (C.-Y. C. Hsieh, 2017), encouraging the current primary speaker (in this case C) to talk further. Unfortunately, C's (陳敏鳳) extended informing is cut off by G2 (郭正亮) in line 28. On the other hand, when it comes to Ga (高嘉瑜), C's reminding does not work, as can be seen from the non-aligning attitude manifested by *haishi* 'still' in line 29. To justify herself, Ga (高嘉瑜) bases her disagreement on another state of affairs that C (陳敏鳳) forgot, namely that C could have changed her name in the first place.

(33) [20180823: Taipei City Mayor Ke's "Identification Card"]

1	H	>剛剛<	敏鳳	姐	講	的	那個..	揪
		ganggang	minfeng	jie	jiang	de	nage	jiu
		a.while.ago	Minfeng	sister	say	NOM	that	find
2		朋友.
		pengyou
		friend
3	Xie	uh.
		uh

PRT

4	H	它	裡面	是	必須	要	輸入	你	的	手機
		ta	limian	shi	bixu	yao	shuru	ni	de	shouji
		it	inside	be	must	need	enter	you	GEN	cell.phone

5		號碼.	你	的	找	得	到	的(.)	有效
		haoma	ni	de	zhao	de	dao	de	youshao
		number	you	NOM	find	obtain	arrive	NOM	valid

6   \<E E-mail E>.

     E-mail

     E-mail

7   Xie   uh.

   uh

   PRT

8	H	跟	本	名	喔.
		gen	ben	ming	ou
		and	original	name	PRT

9   Xie   \<H 痾 H>

     uh

     PRT

10	H	所以	接[下來]-
		suoyi	jiexialai
		so	next

11	Xie	[所以 陳]敏鳳	三	個	字	就	很
		suoyi chenminfeng	san	ge	zi	jiu	hen
		so Chenminfeng	three	CL	character	then	very

12   容易   被   找   到.

102

rongyi　bei　zhao dao

easy　　BEI　find　arrivw

13　H　　[她 已].. 　[她 就是　　被 找 到]　　了 啊.

　　　　ta　yi　　　　ta　jiushi　　bei　zhao dao　　le　a

　　　　she already　she EMP　　BEI find arrive　PFV PRT

14　C　　[我 只]-　[我 沒有].　我 沒有　　用　本　　名.

　　　　wo zhi　　wo meiyou　wo meiyou　yong ben　　ming

　　　　I　just　I　NEG　I　NEG　　use　original name

　　　　((She waves her hand.))

15　Xie　<H 你 沒有　　用　　本　　名 H>.

　　　　ni　meiyou　yong　ben　　ming

　　　　you NEG　use　original　name

　　　　((He opens his eyes wide.))

16　C　　但是-

　　　　danshi

　　　　but

17　G1　[<H 那 妳 怎麼　會 看 得　　到 H>].

　　　　na　ni　zenme　hui kan de　　dao

　　　　then you how　　will see obtain　arrive

18　Xie　[<H 然後　你 還 被 找 到 H>]. 那 妳 怎麼　　被

　　　　ranhou　ni　hai bei zhao dao　　na　ni　zenme　bei

　　　　and　　you still BEI find arrive　then you how　　BEI

19　　　找 到　　的.

　　　　zhao dao　　de

　　　　((He keeps his eyes wide.))

　　　　find arrive　NOM

103

20	C	因為	我	的	\<E Line E\>	是..	跟	手機	是
		yinwei	wo	de	Line	shi	gen	shouji	shi
		because	I	NOM	Line	be	with	cell.phone	be

21		結合.	我	是	用	本(.)	用	本	名.	加入
		jiehe	wo	shi	yong	ben	yong	ben	ming	jiaru
		connect	I	be	use	original	use	original	name	join

22		\<E Line E\>	之後	它	會	出現	你	的	本	名.
		Line	zhihou	ta	hui	chuxian	ni	de	ben	ming
		Line	after	it	will	appear	you	NOM	original	name

23 Xie 喔:::.
ou:::
PRT

24 G1 喔:::.
ou:::
PRT

25	C	→	我	沒有	那麼	傻	好	不	好.
			wo	meiyou	name	sha	hao	bu	hao
			I	NEG	that	silly	good	NEG	good

26 Xie 喔: \<@這樣 這樣@\>.
ou zheyang zheyang
PRT this.appearance this.appearance

27 C 但是 只是-
danshi zhishi
but just

28	G2	\<@加入@\>	\<E Line E\>	就	被	\<@找	到@\>.
		jiaru	Line	jiu	bei	zhao	dao

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doi:10.6342/NTU201904071

		join	Line	soon	BEI	find	arrive

29	Ga	那 妳 還是	很 傻	因為	妳	的	‹E Line E›
		na ni haishi	hen sha	yinwei	ni	de	Line
		then you still	very silly	because	you	NOM	Line

30		可以	改	名字.	[妳 沒]	改	啊.
		keyi	gai	mingzi	ni mei	gai	a
		can	change	name	you NEG	change	PRT
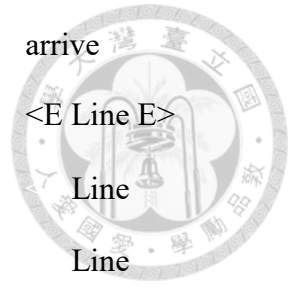
H: 'The… "friend-finding event" that Mingfeng mentioned a while ago.'

Xie: 'Uh.'

H '(To join the event,) you need to enter your cell phone number, a number that can be found, that is available.'

Xie: 'Uh.'

H: 'Plus your real name.'

Xie: 'Uh.'

H: 'So next-'

Xie: 'So the three characters *chen ming feng* become easy to find.'

H: 'She's already… she WAS found.'

C: 'I just- I didn't. I didn't use my real name.'

Xie: 'You didn't use your real name?'

C: 'But-'

G1: 'Then how could you see it?'

Xie: 'And you were still found out?' 'Then how were you found out?'
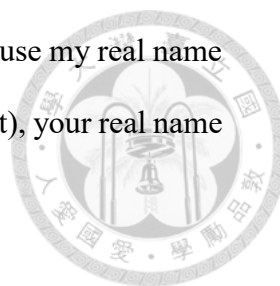
C: 'Because my Line is… is connected to my cell phone. And I use my real name
        (as my Line account). Once you join (the friend-finding event), your real name
        would show up (automatically).

Xie: 'Oh.'

G1:   'Oh.'

C: 'I was not as silly as you think, ok?'

Xie: 'Oh I see'

C: 'It's just that-'

G2   '(You were) found out as soon as you joined the event.'

Ga: '(But) you were still silly in that you could have changed the name on your
        Line. You didn't do it.'

Sometimes, because the reminding *hao bu hao* occurs in a monologue where recipients respond minimally, it is no easy task to determine how recipients view the state of affairs that is brought up by the reminder. Consider example (34) below:

(34) [20180903: Taipei City Mayor Ke Maintains His Leading Position in Poll]

1	Zh	其實	它	把	台灣	看	得	太	小.
		qishi	ta	ba	taiwan	kan	de	tai	shiao
		actually	it	BA	Taiwan	view	CSC	too	small

2	Xie	嗯.
		mm
		PRT

3	Zh	台灣..	我們	跟	老共	比較	起來	我們
		taiwan	women	gen	laogong	bijiao	qilai	women
		Taiwan	we	with	P.R.C.	compare	rise.up	we

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4		確實-	它	軍力		比	我們	大.	土地	面積		大.
		queshi	ta	junli		bi	women	da	tudi	mianji		da
		indeed	it	military.power		than	we		big	land	area		big

5	Xie	嗯.
		mm
		PRT

6	Zh	國力		也	強.	這	幾		年	有	錢
		guoli		ye	qiang	zhe	ji		nian	you	qian
		national.power		also	strong	this	several		year	have	money

7		了.	可是	我們	台灣	是	比較	<TW 衰 TW>.	我
		le	keshi	women	taiwan	shi	bijiao	sue	wo
		PFV	but	we	Taiwan	be	more	unlucky	I

8		一直		>常常<	講	說	我們	比較
		yizhi		changchang	jiang	shuo	women	bijiao
		repetitively		often	say	say	we	more

9		<TW 衰 TW>	是	在	它	旁邊	而已.	<H 我們	也
		sue	shi	zai	ta	pangbian	eryi	women	ye
		unlucky	be	at	it	beside	just	we	also

10	→	很	大.	我們	也	很	強	好	不	好 H>.
		hen	da	women	ye	hen	qiang	hao	bu	hao
		very	big	we	also	very	strong	good	NEG	good

((He pounds on the table with both fists.))

11		我們	前	陣子	在		講	那個..	那個
		women	qian	zhenzi	zai		jiang	nage	nage
		we	previous	a.while	DUR		say	that	that

12		踢	足球	踢	得	很	厲害	那個	冰島	那

		ti	zuqiu	ti	de	hen lihai	nage	bingdao	na
		kick	soccer	kick	CSC	very well	that	Iceland	that

13
一 個 啊. 它 是 我們 的 幾 倍

yi ge a ta shi women de ji bei

one CL PRT it be we ASSOC how.many time

((He knocks on the table with his knuckles.))

14
大. \<TW 三十三萬 人 TW\>.

da sann-tsap-sann-ban lang

big three.hundred.and.thirty.thousand person

((He stretches his hand and raises three fingers.))

15 Xie 嗯.

mm

PRT

((He gives a slight smile.))

16 Zh 對 不 對. 你 說 它 大. 它 哪 有

dui bu dui ni shuo ta da ta na you

right NEG right you say it big it where exist

17
我們 大. 我們- 它 連 我們 的 零頭

women da women ta lian women de lingtou

we big we it even we GEN ending.number

18
都 沒 有.

dou mei you

still NEG have

Zh: 'Actually it underestimates the (power) of Taiwan.'

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Xie: 'Mm.'

Xh: 'Taiwan… compared to the P.R.C., we're indeed- Its military power is stronger than ours. It has bigger land.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Zh: 'Its national power is also strong. And these years it's got richer. But we're just unlucky. As I've always said, we're unlucky in that we happen to be situated near the P.R.C. (As a matter of fact,) we are strong, ok? The… the (country) we talked about the other day which is good at soccer, Iceland, how many times is its population in relation to ours? Three hundred and thirty thousand people.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

Zh: 'See? Do you think it's big? It's not as big as us. Its population has not even reached the ending number of ours.'

Prior to this excerpt, a speaker has just finished a remark on the P.R.C.'s military preparation for future attacks on Taiwan, including armaments, strategies, etc. Now when it is Zh (莊瑞雄)'s turn to talk, he expresses his confidence in Taiwan, starting from line 1. As he points out, the P.R.C.'s immense power notwithstanding, Taiwan is actually pretty strong (suffixed with *hao bu hao* in line 10). It just so happens that Taiwan is geographically near the P.R.C. (lines 7-9); therefore, the fact that Taiwan is powerful in terms of both strength and population has long been neglected (and perhaps this is way, as he reports in lines 7-9, he needs to keep emphasizing this fact all the time). To make sure that the state of affairs he brings up in lines 9-10 is indeed the case and worth considering, Zh (莊瑞雄) makes a comparison between Taiwan and Iceland subsequently (lines 11-14, 16-18). Faced with Zh's reminding, Xie (謝震武) exhibits

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minimal involvement by producing the backchannel *mm* in line 15 and smiling slightly. It remains unknown whether he aligns with the reminding or not.

Since remindings are executed in order to raise recipients' consciousness of something that is thought to have been forgotten or neglected, it should come as no surprise that the reminding *hao bu hao* can be found in head-on, straightforward confrontations. What follows is an example:

(35) [20180830: Taipei City Mayor Ke Registers for Election Alone]

1	L	馬	政府		八		年	執政	增加	幾
		ma	zhengfu		ba		nian	zhizhen	zengjia	zhi
		Ma	government		eight		year	rule	increase	how.many

2		個.	[一百一十		個].
		ge	yi-bai-yi-sh-		ge
		CL	one.hundred.and.ten		CL

3	K		[一百一十		個].
			yi-bai-yi-shi		ge
			one.hundred.and.one		CL

4	Xie	嗯.
		mm
		PRT

5	L	所以(.)	到(.)[交		給	蔡英文	的	時候]-
		suoyi	dao jiao		gei	caiyingwen	de	shihou
		so	till give		to	Cai Yingwen	NOM	time

6	Xie		[就是	人家	給	我們	免簽].
			jiushi	renjia	gei	women	mianqian
			that.is	others	give	we	visa.exemption

110

7 L 對.

dui

right

8 K 都　是　給　[別人　免簽].

dou shi gei bieren mianqian

all be give others visa.exemption

9 L 　　　　　[包括　免簽]　　　有(.)　對於

baogua mianqian you duiyu

include visa.exemption exist to

10 歐盟　免簽　　　嘛. 還有　對於　美國

oumeng mianqian me haiyou duiyu meiguo

E.U. visa.exemption PRT and to U.S.

11 免簽.　　　你　你　>覺得<　這些　北京

mianqian ni ni juede zhexie beijing

visa.exemption you you think these Beijing

12 沒有　壓力　嗎. 都　有　　啊. >可是<　都　拿　到

meiyou yali ma dou you a keshi dou na dao

NEG pressure PRT all exist PRT but all get arrive

13 了　啊. 所以　後來　一百六十四　　　國

le a suoyi houlai yi-bai-liu-shi-si guo

PFV PRT so later one.hundred.and.sixty.four country

14 免簽　　>現在<　蔡　政府　　執政　兩　　年

mianqian xianzai cai zhengfu zhizheng liang nian

visa.exemption now Cai government rule two year

15 多..　拿　到　三　個　免簽.　　那　你　說(.)

duo na dao san ge mianqian na ni shuo

111
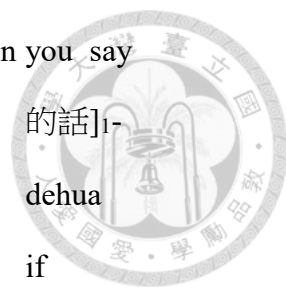
		or.so	get	arrive	three	CL	visa.exemption		then	you	say
16		如果	真的	北京	外[交		打壓	的話]₁-			
		ruguo	zhende	beijing	waijiao		daya	dehua			
		if	really	Beijing	foreign.affairs		oppress	if			
17	C				[免簽		是	要			
					mianqian		shi	yao			
					visa.exemption		be	need			
18	→	累積	的	好	不	好]₁.	美國.				
		leiji	de	hao	bu	hao	meiguo				
		accumulate	NOM	good	NEG	good	America				
19		一	放	以後	各	國	才	放.			
		yi	fang	yihou	ge	guo	cai	fang			
		once	permit	after	each	country	only.when	permit			
20		你	不要	再	講	[這個	了	啦	什麼		
		ni	buyao	zai	jiang	zhege	le	la	shenme		
		you	don't	again	say	this	PRT	PRT	what		
21		免簽.	裡面	是	馬	政府	的]₂				
		mianqian	limian	shi	ma	zhengfu	de				
		visa.exemption	inside	be	Ma	government	NOM				
22		政績	[這	件	事	已經	聽	了	五百	遍	
		zhengji	zhe	jian	shi	yijing	ting	le	wu-bai	bian	
		feat	this	CL	thing	already	hear	PFV	five.hundred	time	
23		了]₃.									
		le									
		PRT									
24	L	[<H 是: 是: H>.	可是	我	覺得	說(.)	不	能			

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doi:10.6342/NTU201904071

	shi:	shi:	keshi	wo	juede	shuo	bu	neng
	be	be	but	I	think	say	NEG	can
25	把	所有]₂.. [不		能	把	所有	的	事情
	ba	suoyou	bu	neng	ba	suoyou	de	shiqing
	BA	all	NEG	can	BA	all	NOM	thing
26	推	給]₃ 北京	打壓.	你	要	去 努力		嘛.
	tui	gei beijing	daya	ni	yao	qu nuli		me
	push to	Beijing	oppress	you	need	go work.hard		PRT

L: 'During the eight years in which the Ma government was in charge, how many (visa exemptions) did we get? One hundred and ten.'

K: 'One hundred and ten.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

L: 'So after we transfered (the country) to Cai Yingwen-'

Xie: '(You mean) the visa exemptions other countries gave to us?'

L: 'Yes.'

K: '(As for Cai, she) gave visa exemptions to other countries.'

L: 'The visa exemptions (that the Ma government got) include the E.U. And the U.S. Do you think these exemptions posed no pressure to Beijing? They all did! But after all, we got (them). So in the end we got one hundred and sixty-four visa exemptions altogether. Now the Cai government has ruled (the country) for about two years or so… and it's got three visa exemptions. Now you tell me, if Beijing is really oppressing (us)-'

C: 'The gain of visa exemptions is something that is incremental in nature, ok? Only when there is the U.S.'s permission do other countries give us visa

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exemptions. Now you wanna talk about visa exemptions? That the visa exemptions we've got are all the Ma government's feats, this I have heard about for five hundred times!'

L: 'Yes, yes. But I don't think you can just blame everything on Beijing's oppressing us. You need to make efforts.'

In this discussion about Taiwan's foreign policies, speaker L (李明賢), a member of the KMT (aided by another speaker K (柯志恩) in line 3), is comparing the number of visa exemptions obtained by current President Cai (蔡英文) with that by former President Ma (馬英九). From L's (李明賢) perspective, that 164 exemptions were obtained during Ma's government is something praiseworthy, as revealed by the way it is formulated and presented to the recipients in lines 11-13. The message that he tries to convey seems to be that *despite* hidden international interference Ma *still* made enormous progress in foreign affairs. Now just when he is about to elaborate, his talk is suddenly intercepted by C (陳敏鳳), and a violative interruption hence arises. As lines 17-19 show, C seems to notice a "flaw" in L's (李明賢) evaluation of President Ma's "feat," namely that visa exemptions are things that need to be obtained in a one-by-one, step-by-step process, rather than things that can can assessed collectively. The U.S.'s leverage, she adds, is another important factor. Annoyed, C (陳敏鳳) even tries to stop L (李明賢) from talking further about this matter (line 20), for she is tired of it (see the hyperbole in lines 21-23). Faced with C's (陳敏鳳) reminding (done by means of *hao bu hao* in line 18), L (李明賢) responds with two accentuated backchannels (*shi shi*), followed by his justification. The multiple overlappings indicate his eagerness to recapture the floor prematurely taken away in line 16.

As mentioned earlier, the action of reminding is not a well-established, agreed-upon category in Conversation Analysis, and the reader may remain dubious about its

status as an analytical construct or even its very existence in social encounters. Two notions proposed by Schegloff (2007) become relevant here. From the speaker's perspective, one's major concern in interaction is to recruit linguistic resources (and surely resources of other kinds as well) to make end products that are designed to be interpretable/recognizable as a variety of actions such as requesting, inviting, granting, complaining, rejecting, etc. (Schegloff 2007: xiv), a process that is called *action formation*. From the recipient's perspective, one's central concern is, correspondingly, to interpret/recognize the action practiced by the speaker as best as he can, which may be called *action recognition*.

However, as Levinson (2013: 201) points out, the term *recognition* is misleading. It presupposes that each action has a correct identity, while in reality, the process of assigning an action to a turn is fallable, negotiable, and even potentially ineffable. It is for this reason that he adopts the term *ascription*. Indeed, an insightful observation about conversation made by Schegloff (2007: 7-8) is that not all the actions that get done by a turn-at-talk can be aptly referred to by common vernacular vocabulary. There are times when determining exactly what an utterance does can be an intimidating task. It is the analyst's job, then, to look for a "proof procedure" (Sacks et al., 1974) in order to work out both action formation and action recognition. To demonstrate that there really are grounds for treating *hao bu hao* as used in (33) – (35) as belonging to a distinct action type that is characterizable as "reminding," I present the following stretch of talk:

(36) [20180905: Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage]

```
1   Xie      這   現在     看   起來     俊哲.
             zhe  xianzai  kan  qilai    junzhe
             this now      see  rise.up  Junzhe

2   H        嗯.
```

mm.

PRT

3　Xie　對　你們　來　　講　　的話　　對　>民進<黨

dui nimen lai　　jiang　　dehua　dui　minjindang

for you　　come　say　　DEHUA for　DPP

4　　來　　講　　這 件 事情(.)　真的　　很 頭痛　　嗎.

lai　　jiang　　zhe jian shiqing　zhende　hen touting　　ma

come　say　　this CL thing　really　very headache PRT

5　H　我　覺得(.)　這　一　次　姚人多　　展現　　出　>他 的<

wo juede　zhe yi ci　yaorenduo　　zhanxian chu　ta de

I　think　this one time Yao Renduo　show　out　he GEN

6　　大器.　　>他 在< 第一　　時間　>他 就<　　說

daqi　　　ta zai diyi　shijian　ta jiu　　shuo

forbearance　he at first　time　he soon　say

7　　欸 這 內容　我 也 不 是　　這麼　[相信]₁.

ei zhe neirong wo ye bu shi　zheme　xiangxin

PRT this content I YE NEG be　zheme　believe

8　Xie　　　　　　　　　　　　　[欸　對不起

ei　duibuqi

PRT　sorry

9　　我　要]₁　先　跟　觀眾　　朋友　講　一 下.

wo yao　xian gen guanzhong pengyou jiang yi xia

I　need　first with viewer　friend say　one CL

10　H　嗯.

mm

PRT

11	Xie	那個	>民進<黨	的:	候選人	叫	姚文智..
		nage	minjindang	de	houxuanren	jiao	Yaowenzhi
		that	DPP	NOM	candidate	call	Yao Wenzhi

12	→	[好	不	好]₂.
		hao	bu	hao
		good	NEG	good

13	H	[@@@@]₂

14	Xie	不	是	<@姚人多@>.
		bu	shi	yaorenduo
		NEG	be	Yao Renduo
		((He waves his hand.))

15	G	<@不	是@>.
		bu	shi
		NEG	be
		((She shakes her head.))

16	Xie	只是	柯<E P E>	這	件	事情@>...	[就是	跟
		zhishi	keP	zhe	jian	shiqing	jiushi	gen
		just	Ke Wenzhe	this	CL	thing	EMP	with

17		姚人多	對槓]₃.
		yaorenduo	duigang
		Yao Renduo	clash

18	G					[因為
						[yinwei
						because

19		剛好	扣	住	了	姚人多]₃.
		ganghao	kou	zhu	le	yaorenduo

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		happen.to	hook	firmly	PFV Yao Renduo

20 H

[不然

[buran

[otherwise

21

姚(.)	姚文智	沒	有]₃-
yao	yaowenzhi	mei	you
Yao	Yao Wenzhi	NEG	have

22 Xie

我	要	先	提醒	大家	一	下.
wo	yao	xian	tixing	dajia	yi	xia
I	need	first	remind	everyone	one	CL

23 H

對	對	對	對.	那	我們	提
dui	dui	dui	dui	na	women	ti
right	right	right	right	then	we	mention

24

姚人多	因為	他	是	總	操盤手.
yaorenduo	yinwei	ta	shi	zong	caopanshou
Yao Renduo	because	he	be	whole	strategist

25 Xie

<@對	對	對	對@>.
dui	dui	dui	dui
right	right	right	right

Xie: 'Now, Junzhe,'

H: 'Mm.'

Xie: 'As far as you and the DPP are concerned, is this thing really a nuisance to

you?'

H: 'I think this time Yao Renduo has demonstrated his forbearance. When this thing happened, he said immediately that he was not so sure about it.'

Xie: 'Excuse me, I have something to tell the viewers.'

H: 'Mm.'

Xie: 'The candidate of the DPP is called *Yao Wenzhi*, ok?'

H: ((laughs))

Xie: 'Not *Yao Renduo*.'

G: 'It' not.'

Xie: 'It's just that this thing about Ke Wenzhe… is in conflict with Yao Renduo.'

G: 'Because it is associated with Yao Renduo.'
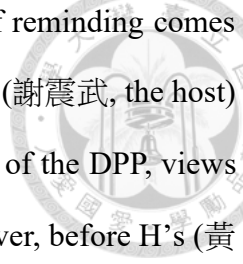
H: 'Otherwise, Yao Renduo wouldn't-'

Xie: 'I need to remind everyone first.'

H: 'Yes, yes, yes, yes. And we mentioned Yao Renuo because he's the main strategist (of the DPP).'

Xie: 'Yes, yes, yes, yes.'

Before we get into the details of this excerpt, an amount of background information needs to be set in place. A few years ago, an American writer published a book on stories of forced organ harvesting in China, the Chinese translation of which is about to be published two months after this episode of *Facenews*. Two days before this talk, the publisher proprietor responsible for the Chinese edition of the book, citing it, placed an advertisement on a newspaper implicating that Taipei City mayor Ke Wenzhe (柯文哲) was involved with the scandal. Confronted with this accusation, Ke raised the question of whether it had arisen from Yao Renduo's (姚人多) mismanagement of the DPP.

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Now let us inspect (36) carefully and watch how the action of reminding comes into being. After a guest's comment (not shown in the excerpt), Xie (謝震武, the host) turns to speaker H (黃俊哲) in line 1 and aks how he, as a member of the DPP, views the whole event, the response of which is shown in lines 5-7. However, before H's (黃俊哲) talk reaches its completion, Xie (謝震武) suddenly cuts in in line 8 and issues a pre-announcement that foreshadows line 11. Note that Xie's interruption is prefaced by the "attention getter" *ei* (Tsai, 2008: 1023), a particle capable of making the audience pay attention to the speaker (Tsai & Huang, 2003: 175). In so doing, Xie (謝震武) launches a unilateral topical shift and marks topical disjunctiveness (Wu, 1997). Since one of the protagonist of this storm, Yao Renduo (姚人多), has been intermittently mentioned for over half an hour up till now and happens to share the same surname with the DPP maroyal candidate Yao Wenzhe (姚文智), Xie (謝震武) thinks it necessary to sacrifice the progressivity of the on-going talk for making things clear. In lines 11-12, 14, he clarifies that the name of the DPP mayoral candidate is called "Yao Wenzhe" rather than "Yao Renduo," which is accomplished by means of *hao bu hao* and facilitated by G's (谷懷萱, the hostess) partial repetition (line 15). Of particular relevance here is how one should interpret Xie's behavior as such. Fortunately, the answer comes timely in line 22, where Xie labels the *hao-bu-hao*-suffixed utterance as an action of reminding. H's (黃俊哲) response in lines 23-24, then, merits extra attention, for it indicates that his understanding of lines 11-12 is compatible with Xie's intention. As H's (黃俊哲) subsequent explanation shows, he knows pretty well what is going on, and this is in turn confirmed by Xie (謝震武) in line 25.

4.1.3.5 Pre-correction

Given that speakers, when aware of some state of affairs missing or neglected, can recruit *hao bu hao* in a non-canonical way to implement remindings, it turns out that

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they can in turn take advantage of this property of *hao bu hao* to foretell a mismatch between two conversationalists' understanding of the same thing, that is, to issue a pre-correction. In other words, this is, in a sense, a combination of the reminding *hao bu hao* and the correcting *hao bu hao*. Before we delve into real data, however, there are details to clarify.

Except for summonses (e.g., *John!*), which prefigure actions of various types, preliminaries in talk-in-interaction often precede specific types of actions such as invitations, offers, requests, announcements, etc. In such cases, the entities that project later actions are called pre-inviations, pre-offers, pre-requests, and pre-announcements correspondingly, and collectively they are termed "type-specific pre-s" (Schegloff, 2007). However, according to Levinson (1983:346), just because a turn precedes some other kind of turn does not mean that it is necessarily a pre-s. To be recognized as a pre-s, a turn needs to be shown to occupy a specific slot in a specific kind of sequence with distinctive properties. Extrapolating Levinson's (1983:357) characterization of the structure of pre-requests, we can get the following quadripartite structure of pre-s:

(37) [from Levinson 1983: 357]

Position 1 ‖ A: pre-X

Position 2 ‖ B: go-ahead

Position 3 ‖ A: action X

Position 4 ‖ B: response

In Position 1 a speaker issues a pre-s of some kind in preparation for the base action X that he is about to take in Position 3, which, if the go-ahead signal by another speaker in Position 2 is indeed received, occasions a relevant response in Position 4. Attention should be paid to the alternating speakership found in this structure: one party goes "on-

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stage" in Position 1 and Position 3 (and goes "off-stage" in Position 2 and Position 4), while another party goes onstage in Position 2 and Position 4 (and remains off-stage in Position 1 and Position 3). The A-B-A-B distribution is the typical position allocation in pre-sequences.
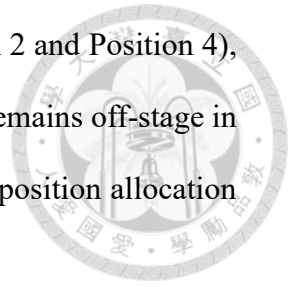
However, under the influence of institutional settings, this perfect symmetry may end up disfigured at times. In *Facenews* one is usually granted an adequate amount of time to have his say, and it is common to witness speakers' various devices to furnish their monologues that would otherwise be too monotonous, one of which is to introduce a hypothetical interlocutor (or one that is not present in the speech environment) to interact with. When this happens, the structure of pre-sequences gets modulated, as can be seen in the following excerpt:

(38) [20180905: Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage]

1	S	他	把	那個	原文		書	看	了	一
		ta	ba	nage	yuan-wen		shu	kan	le	yi
		he	BA	that	original.language		book	read	PFV	one
2		遍	以後.	他	說	了…	他	大概	就	說	了..
		bian	yihou	ta	shuo	le	he	dagai	jiu	shuo	le
		CL	after	he	say	PFV	ta	about	just	say	PFV
3		兩	句	話.	第一	個.	柯文哲		在	台大
		liang	ju	hua	diyi	ge	kewenzhe		zai	taida
		two	CL	utterance	first	CL	Ke Wenzhe		at	NTU
4		有	沒	有	跟	器官	捐贈	有		關.
		you	mei	you	gen	qiguan	juanzeng	you		guan
		exist	NEG	exist	with	organ	donate	have		connection
5	Xie	嗯.

mm

PRT

6　S　有. 第二　個　有　沒　　有　去　過　大陸. 有.
you　dier　ge　you　mei　you　qu　guo　dalu　you
exist　second　CL　exist　NEG　exist　go　EXP　mainland　exist

7　　但是　不　足　以　證明…　他　有　做　這　種
danshi　bu　zu　yi　zhengming　ta　you　zuo　zhe　zhong
but　NEG　enough　to　prove　he　exist　do　this　kind

8　　事.
shi
thing

9　Xie　嗯.
mm
PRT

10　S　<TW 乎 TW>. 姚人多　不　　足　　以　證明.
honnh　yaorenduo　bu　zu　yi　zhengming
honnh　Yao Renduo　NEG　enough　to　prove

11　　根本　沒有　證據　東西… <TW 乎 TW>. 那(.)　也
genben　meiyou　zhengju　dongxi　honnh　na　ye
even　NEG　evidence　thing　honnh　and　YE

12　　講　得- 我　覺得　他　也　講　得　很
jiang　de　wo　juede　ta　ye　jiang　de　hen
say　CSC　I　think　he　YE　say　CSC　very

13　　中立　嘛. 這　是　他　私底下-　那　你　把　它
zhongli　me　zhe　shi　ta　zidixia　na　ni　ba　ta
neutral　PRT　this　be　he　in.private　then　you　BA　it

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14		推	給…	推	給:那個	姚人多	幹嘛.
		tui	gei	tui	gei nage	yaorenduo	ganma
		push	to	push	to that	Yao Renduo	for.what

15 Xie 嗯

mm

PRT

16	S	姚文智	陣營…	也	不	知道	這	件	事	啊.
		yaowenzhi	zhenying	ye	bu	zhidao	zhe	jian	shi	a
		Yao Wenzhi	camp	YE	NEG	know	this	CL	thing	PRT

17		也	不	知道	啊.
		ye	bu	zhidao	a
		YE	NEG	know	PRT

18 Xie 嗯.

mm

PRT

19	S	然後	有	人	說	吳祥輝	吳祥輝	去
		ranhou	you	ren	shuo	wuxianghui	wuxianghui	qu
		and	exist	person	say	Wu Xianghui	Wu Xianghui	go

20		你們	陣營.	他	是	主持	會議	的	人.
		nimen	zhenying	ta	shi	zhuchi	huiyi	de	ren
		you	camp	he	be	chair	meeting	NOM	person

21		怎麼樣	怎麼樣.	講	了	半	天	其實	錯
		zenmeyang	zenmeyang	jiang	le	ban	tian	qishi	cuo
		what.way	what.way	say	PFV	half	day	actually	wrong

22	→	了	>好	不	好<.	是	姚:人多	主持
		le	hao	bu	hao	shi	yaorenduo	zhuchi

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PFV good NEG good be Yaorenduo chair

23 會議 不 是 吳祥輝. 吳:祥輝 也 不 在

huiyi bu shi wuxianghui wuxianghui ye bu zai

meeting NEG be Wu Xianghui Wu Xianghui YE NEG at

24 會議 裡 成員 裡面 也 不: 是.

huiyi li chengyuan limian ye bu shi

meeting inside member inside YE NEG be

S: 'After he read the original book, he said… he said about two things. First, did Ke Wenzhe have anything to do with organ donation when he was in NTU?'

Xie: 'Mm.'

S: 'Yes. Second, did he ever go to mainland China during that time? Yes, but that's not enough to prove that… he has done this thing.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

S: 'Yao Renduo could not prove it. There's no evidence. And this… I think this is quite neutral. He privately- Then why do you blame it on… on Yao Renduo?'
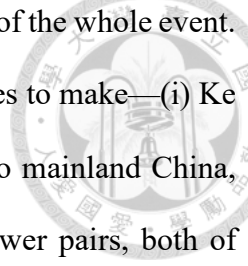
Xie: 'Mm.'

S: 'Yao Wenzhi's camp… doesn't know this. They don't know this.'

Xie: 'Mm.'

S: 'And some people say that Wu Xianghui went to your camp and that he was the chair of the meeting, things like that. All of this is actually wrong, ok? It was Yao Renduo that was the chair of the meeting, not Wu Xianghui. And Wu Xianghui was not one of the members of the meeting. He wasn't.'

Upset with ordinary people's understanding of the skirmish between Wu Xianghui (吳祥輝), Yao Renduo (姚人多), and Taipei City Mayor Ke Wenzhe (explained in example

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(36) in 3.1.3.4), speaker S (尚毅夫) decides to present the panorama of the whole event. In lines 3-4 and 6-8 we see that the two major points S (尚毅夫) tries to make—(i) Ke had something to do with organ donation; (ii) Though Ke did go to mainland China, this does not prove him guilty—are molded as quasi-question-answer pairs, both of which are taken up by the host's backchannel *mm* (lines 5 & 9). Against this backdrop, S (尚毅夫) wonders in lines 13-14 why Ke still blamed Wu's unexpected accusation on Yao (note that he acts as if he were talking directly to Ke). Now in line 19 speaker S (尚毅夫) introduces imaginary interlocutors to converse with and voices his opposing idea instantly, which is modified by *qishi* 'actually'. According to Y.-F. Wang, Tsai, and Yang (2009), the adverb/discourse marker *qishi* signals that what the speaker is going to say will be different from what has been said. From the middle of line 22 to line 23 we learn that the disjunction lies in the identity of the chair of a certain meeting. As S (尚毅夫) points out, it was Yao (姚人多) rather than Wu (吳祥輝) that was the chair of the meeting. The status of the *hao-bu-hao*-suffixed clause in lines 21-22 (*jiang le ban tian qishi cuo le hao bu ho* 'all of this is actually wrong, ok?') as a pre-correction, then, becomes clear. Indeed, as P. C. Wang (2005) observes, *qishi* can be used as a preface to the speaker's opinion which is a correction to what the hearer has just said. It just so happens that here in (17) the hearer is some non-present interlocutor imagined by S (尚毅夫); therefore, on the face of it, it seems that S is correcting himself.

Now we can go back to the general structure of pre-s illustrated in (37) and see how example (38) can fit into it. In lines 19-21 speaker S (尚毅夫) introduces imaginary interlocutors who make some assertion about Wu Xianghui, which is in contradiction with S's own understanding, though. Uncomfortable with this discrepancy, S (尚毅夫) initiates a pre-correction in lines 21-22 (note that he accentuates the predicative portion *cuo le* 'wrong PRT' of his utterance (indicated by the underlines)). Since the interlocutors are fictional and cannot return a go-ahead signal (say, *nali cuo le* 'where

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wrong PRT'), S (尚毅夫) makes the correction directly in lines 22-23. In the absence of interlocutors who could otherwise respond, S (尚毅夫) simply keeps expanding his turn (not shown in the excerpt). The underlying structure of this sequence is visualized below (the symbol Ø means null realization):

(39)

       ‖ B: trigger (lines 19-21)

Position 1 ‖ A: pre-correction (lines 21-22)

Position 2 ‖ B: go-ahead (Ø)

Position 3 ‖ A: correction (lines 22-23)

Position 4 ‖ B: response (Ø)

4.1.3.6 Disagreeing with Assessments

Another context where the non-canonical *hao bu hao* tag occurs is one in which it is exploited to disagree with other speakers' assessment of something, which is yet another social action that is tied up with the notion of epistemics. Again, we will inspect real examples after we lay the groundwork.

Among the presumably endless things that people do with language, making assessments is a common and natural behavior to observe. The occurrence of making assements is so prevalent that it finally entered the enterprise of Conversation Analysis in Pomerantz's seminal work in 1984. Assessments, as Pomerantz (1984: 57) argues, are "products" of participation; they are based on speakers' knowledge of what they assess. With an assessment, whether it is a compliment to a student, a complaint about the government's policy, criticism about a movie, or one's self-deprecation, a speaker claims knowledge of that which he or she is assessing. If the speaker claims no access to, or insufficient knowledge of the assessable, assessments cannot be made. On the other hand, if the assessable is someone/something equally accessible to both the

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assesser and the recipient, then the initial assessment provides for relevance of the recipient's "second assessment" (Pomerantz, 1984:61). A succession of an initial assessment and a second assessment is provided in the excerpt below.
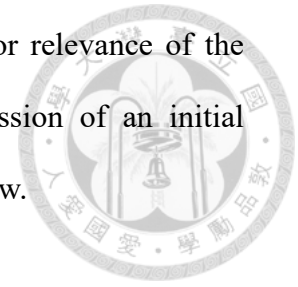
(40) [20180911: Japanese Guy Kicks Comfort Woman Statue]

1	Q	>就是<(.)	第一果菜>市場<				是
		jiushi	diyiguocaishichang				shi
		EMP	First.Fruits.&Vegetables.Wholesale.Market				be

2		考驗	吳音寧	的	能力.	那	看	起來
		kaoyan	Wuyinning	de	nengli	na	kan	qilai
		test	Wu Yinning	GEN	competence	then	see	rise.up

3		這	件	事情	今天-	因為	前面	都	不
		zhe	jian	shiqing	jintian	yinwei	qianmian	dou	bu
		this	CL	thing	today	because	front	all	NEG

4		出面	嘛.	如果	她	都	不	出面	你	當然
		chumian	me	ruguo	ta	dou	bu	chumian	ni	dangran
		show.up	PRT	if	she	all	NEG	show.up	you	of.course

5		可以	繼續	打.
		keyi	jishu	da
		can	continue	hit

6	Xie	喔.
		ou
		PRT

7	Q	你	打	說	妳	是	神隱	啊.	妳	領	那麼	多.
		ni	da	shuo	ni	shi	shenyin	a	ni	ling	name	duo
		you	hit	say	you	be	disappear	PRT	you	get	that	more

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8
>然後< 妳 又 說 妳 多 有 能力. 妳 又

ranhou ni you shuo ni duo you nengli ni you

and you yet say you how have competence you even

9
在 [臉書 上 發]-

zai lianshu shang fa

at Facebook up post

10 Z
[不(.) 不 是 喔]. 不 是 她 解決

bu bu shi ou bu shi ta jiejue

NEG NEG be PRT NEG be she solve

11
的 喔. 是 她..是 她 搞 亂 了. >今天<

de ou shi ta shi ta gao luan le jintian

NOM PRT be she be she do mess PRT today

12
出面 是 別人 幫 她 擦 屁股 解決.

chumian shi bieren bang ta ca pigu jiejue

show.up be others help she wipe ass solve

13
所[以]₁ 妳 要 了解 <H 更 深 [的

suoyi ni yao liaojie geng shen de

so you need understand more deep NOM

14
東西 好 不 好 H>]₂.

((He raises his finger))

15 Q
[<H 對 H>]₁. [但是

dui danshi

right but

16
但是]₂ 但是 我們 今天 看 到 的 是

danshi danshi women jintian kan dao de shi

but but we today see arrive NOM be

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17		她	出面	她	論述	能力		清楚	她	[提出
		ta	chumian	ta	lunshu	nengli		qingchu	ta	tichu
		she	show.up	she	expound	competence		clear	she	propose

18		她	的		需求]₃.				
		ta	de		xuqiu				
		she	GEN		need				

19 Z								[她 講
								ta jiang
								she talk

20	→	得	也	實在	亂七八糟]₃	>好	不	好<
		de	ye	shizai	luanqibazao	hao	bu	hao
		CSC	YE	really	messy	good	NEG	good

21		講	得	也	是	啊.	亂七八糟	啊.
		jiang	de	ye	shi	a	luanqibazao	a
		talk	CSC	YE	be	PRT	messy	PRT

Q: '(I mean) Taipei First Fruits & Vegetables Wholesale Market is a touchstone of Wu Yinning's competence. It seems that this thing-   Because she refused to show up previously. If she doesn't show up, of course you can keep criticizing her.'

Xie: 'Oh.'

Q: '(For example,) you can criticize her for not showing up and earning so much money and yet bragging about how competent she is. And on Facebook she even-'

Z: 'No, no. She didn't solve (the problem with the market). Rather, she screwed it up! The reason why she could show up (in the council) today is that someone else has solved the problem for her. You have to understand the details, ok?'

Q: 'Yes.'   'But, but, but what we see today is that she showed up, that her thoughts were clear, and that she put forward her needs.'

Z: 'What she said is a mess, ok? That was a mess.'

Before we examine how *hao bu hao* can be used to disagree with someone else's assement, some background information helps us get a grasp on this segment. In response to Taipei City Government's attempt to rebuild the Taipei First Fruits & Vegetables Wholesale Market (台北第一果菜市場), general manager of Taipei Agricultural Products Marketing Company, Wu Yinning (吳音寧), put forth a proposal which, according to a councilor, could save up to 1.1 billion dollars. This plan, however, was rejected. Because of the tension between Wu and the mayor and the fact that Wu refused to attend Taipei City Council, the attempt to rebuild the market entered into a deadlock. On the day when this episode of *Facenews* was broadcast, Wu finally showed up in the council.

Now let us see how the action of disagreeing comes into being in this dialogue. Prior to this excerpt, speaker Q (邱明玉) has said that, judging from Wu's debut in the council, she is actually quite good at public speaking and that one should do her justice. When Q (邱明玉) enters this excerpt, she tries to elaborate on her comment on Wu by making a contrast between Wu's image some time ago and the competence that she now demonstrates. However, before the first part of Q's (邱明玉) elaboration reaches its completion (line 9), speaker Z (鍾小平) cuts in in line 10 implicating that Wu makes no contributions to ceasing the whole event and hence derserves no credit. Note that Z (鍾小平) registers his insights by making a (canonical) *hao-bu-hao*-tagged suggestion

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in lines 13-14. Sticking to her own perspective, Q (邱明玉) manages to recapture the floor in line 15 and makes an initial assessment of Wu. Noteworthy is the two-part format of her utterance: a source of experience (in this case, vision, as indicated by the resultative verb compound *kan-dao* 'see-arrive'), followed by the assessment itself. Now that an initial assessment has been made and the assessable is a public figure who is known to all of the conversationalists, a second assessment, realized as either agreeing or disagreeing, becomes relevant in the next turn. As the excerpt shows, Z (鍾小平) makes a premature second assessment in lines 19-21 that overlaps with Q's (邱明玉) talk in lines 17-18.

Just as Q's (the first speaker) assessment is her claim of access to Wu, Z's (the second speaker) assessment is his claim of access to Wu as well (Pomerantz, 1984:62). In lines 19-21 Z (鍾小平) disagrees with Q (邱明玉) using the quadra-syllabic idiomatic expression *luanqibazao* 'extremely messy' (which describes the manner in which Wu spoke in the council), together with the functional word *ye*. According to Chu (1998:102), the "modality adverb" *ye* is closely connected with the speaker's subjective opinion or attitude towards a state of affair. Often occurring in negative contexts, it can be roughly translated as 'on the contrary'. To be specific, it is functionally equivalent to the English parenthetical expression *I think* that is inserted into clauses. Signaling contrast to the interlocutor's assumption, *ye* can be said to entail 'I BEG TO DISAGREE' (Chu, 1998: 107). By producing lines 19-21, Z (鍾小平) not only talks about some referent but reveals his own knowledge of it, registering his construal as a conceptualizer. In other words, he reveals himself.

One thing about the disagreeing *hao bu hao* that merits closer inspection is its strength, which is inextricably linked to its "appearance." According to Pomerantz (1984), weak disagreements, which are more common, go hand in hand with delay devices such as silences, hesitating prefaces (e.g., *well*), requests for clarification (e.g.,

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what?), and/or agreeing prefaces (resulting in the "agreement-plus-disagreement format," e.g., *Yes, but…*; *He is, but…*). On the other hand, strong disagreements, which are rarer, are proffered unfurnished; the speaker simply utters an evaluation which is directly contrastive with the prior one (Pomerantz, 1984: 74). Interesting is the fact that only strong disagreements are found in the present study, a phenomenon that is in a sense reminiscent of 3.1.3.1 (Recall that when *hao bu hao* is used to make corrections, only exposed ones are made. It seems that the non-canonical *hao bu hao* is intrinsically associated with strong contradiction.)

4.1.3.7 Agreeing with Assessments

As mentioned before, in the next turn to an initial assessment, an action by the recipient is relevant—to either agree or disagree with the initial assessment (Pomerantz, 1984: 63). Nevertheless, the two options are not equally distributed in reality. Generally speaking, agreements are preferred to disagreements as the response to an initial assessment. Surprisingly, in addition to the usage discussed in 3.1.3.6, *hao bu hao* can also be exploited to agree with the prior speaker's assessment. What follows is an example:

(41) [20180823: Taipei City Mayor Ke's "Identification Card"]

1	Xie	而	這	一	幕…	嘉瑜	妳	的	看法	是
		er	zhe	yi	mu	jiayu	ni	de	kanfa	shi
		and	this	one	scene	Jiayu	you	GEN	viewpoint	be
2		覺得		很	表面.					
		juede		hen	biaomian					
		think		very	superficial					
3	G	當然	是	很	表面	因為	妳	看	那個	
		dangran	shi	hen	biaomian	yinwei	ni	kan	nage	

of.course be   very superficial   because you see that

4   記者會　　　　　如果　　有　　　那個　　　照片　　　的話

jizhehui　　　　　ruguo　　you　　nage　　　zhaopian　dehua

press.conference　if　　　have　　that　　　photo　　　if

5   那　兩　　　個　人　　徐<@巧芯　跟　王鴻薇@>

na　liang　　ge　ren　　xuqiaoxin　　gen　wanghongwei

that　two　　CL　person　Xu Qiaoxin　and　Wang Hongwei

6   的　　　　臉-

de　　　　lian

GEN　　　face

7 Xie　就　　　像　　　妳　當初　　　跟　姚姚　　站　　　在

jiu　　　xiang　　ni　dangchu　　gen　yaoyao　zhan　　　zai

EMP　　like　　you　at.that.time　and　Yaoyao　stand　　at

8   一起　那個-

yiqi　nage

together　that

9 G　　我們　是　都　還　好. 但是-

women　shi　dou　hai　hao　danshi

we　　be　both　still　ok　but

10 L　　（　）　她　昨天　　下午-

ta　zuotian　xiawu

she　yesterday afternoon

11 K　　（　　　[　　)一模｛一樣]₁｝₁

yimoyiyang

exactly.the.same

12 L　　　　　[她　｛昨天｝₁　陪　　　　姚]₁文智　　還

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		ta	zuotian	pei	yaowenzhi	hai
		she	yesterday	accompany	Yao Wenzhi	even

13		遲到.	還	故意	遲到	很 久.
		chidao	hai	guyi	chidao	hen jiu
		arrive.late	even	on.purpose	arrive.late	very long

14	G	｛比起｝₁-
		biqi
		compare.to

15	G	比起	她們-
		biqi	tamen
		compare.to	they

16	L	[妳	剛剛	還	講]₂	說	[妳	不
		ni	ganggang	hai	jiang	shuo	ni	bu
		you	a.while.ago	even	say	say	you	NEG

17		想	陪	姚文]₃智.
		xiang	pei	yaowenzhi
		want	accompany	Yao Wenzhi

18	K	[很	表面:]₂.		[很	表面]₃.
		hen	biaomian		hen	biaomian
		very	superficial		very	superficial

19	G	但是	我	今天	要	說	這個	記者會
		danshi	wo	jintian	yao	shuo	zhege	jizhehui
		but	I	today	want	say	this	press.conference

20		其[實	今天]₄-
		qishi	jintian
		actually	today

21 Gu   [妳   今天   應該   要]4   把   兩   張

ni   jintian   yinggai   yao   ba   liang   zhang

you   today   should   need   BA   two   CL

22   照片   拿   出來=

zhaopian   na   chulai

photo   bring   out

23 Xie   =拿   出來   [比   對   不   對]5.

na   chulai   bi   dui   bu   dui

bring   out   cocmpare   right   NEG   right

24 G   [今天   也   要]5-

jintian   ye   yao

today   also   need

25 K   [兩   個   人   的   臉   都   是   尷尬   的

liang   ge   ren   de   lian   dou   shi   ganga   de

two   CL   person   GEN   face   both   be   awkward   NOM

26   → 好   不   好]6.

hao   bu   hao

good   NEG   good

27 Xie   [@@@@@]6

28 G   <H 但是   問[題   是 H>]7-

danshi   wenti   shi

but   question   shi

29 L   [妳   陪]7   姚文智   的   臉

ni   pei   yaowenzhi   de   lian
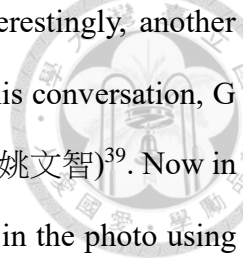
you   accompany   Yao Wenzhi   GEN   face

30   [是   什麼   臉]8.

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doi:10.6342/NTU201904071

shi shenme   lian

be   what   face

Xie: 'And this scene… Jiayu, you think this is superficial?'

G: 'Of course it is superficial. Because if you observe the press conference, if you

       have the photo, the two people's faces, Xu Qiaoxin and Wang Hongwei-'

Xie: 'Just like (the face) you wore when you stood beside Yaoyao?'

G: 'We're quite okay, but-'

L: 'Yesterday afternoon, she-'

K: 'Exactly the same.'

L: 'When she went with Yao Wenzhi yesterday, she even arrived late. She was

       purposefully so late.'

G: 'Compared to-'   'Compared to them-'

L: 'A while ago you even said that you didn't want to accompany Yao Wenzhi.'

K: 'It was superficial!'   'So superficial.'

G: 'But today I need to say that the press conference is actually-'

Gu: 'You should've brought the two photos today.'

Xie: 'To make a comparison, right?'

G: 'Today-'

K: 'Both of the two people's faces were awkward, ok?'

Xie: ((laughs))

G: 'But the question is-'

L: 'What was the face that you wore when you were beside Yao Wenzhi?'

     This chaotic dialogue arises from the host Xie (謝震武) presenting a photo of two

KMT candidates who were caught wearing stiff-looking faces in a press conference,

which was considered a sign of the infighting between them. Interestingly, another problematic relationship happens to hold between one speaker of this conversation, G (高嘉瑜), and the DPP Taipei City mayoral candidate, Yao Wenzhi (姚文智)[39]. Now in lines 1-2 Xie (謝震武) asserts an assessment of the scene captured in the photo using the descriptor *biaomian* 'superficial'. Selected by Xie as the next speaker, G (高嘉瑜) produces an aligning, preferred agreement with partial repetition *dangran shi hen biaomian* 'of course it is superficial' in line 3, after which she begins to elaborate. However, it is precisely her mentioning the two KMT politicians' faces in the elaboration that prompts Xie's (謝震武) cut-in in line 7 (which gives rise to the chaos spanning from line 10 to line 18). Note that by using the comparative morepheme *xiang* 'like' in line 7, Xie implicitly applies the descriptor *biaomian* 'superficial' to G's (高嘉瑜) face. Since no overt next speakership is specified this time (as opposed to the situation in lines 1-2), not only G, who makes a disagreement in line 9 with the "counter-evaluative phrase" *hai hao* (Biq, 2003), but also other conversationalists can make their second assessments. As the excerpt shows, this "conditional relevance[40]" (Schegloff, 1972) holds for so long that it engenders K's (柯志恩) agreement three times. In line 11, using the quadra-syllabic idiomatic expression *yimoyiyang* 'exactly the same', K "upgrades"[41] (Pomerantz, 1984) Xie's (謝震武) assessment. In line 18 K's agreement is implemented by means of partial repetition. Finally, in lines 25-26 (perhaps due to the noise in the conversational setting) K (柯志恩) utters a full-fledged clause suffixed with *hao bu hao* to agree with Xie. Throughout the whole excerpt, we

---

[39] G, thought of as a "traitor" to the DPP because of showing too much hospitality to Taipei City mayor Ke, has been found in several photos to look absent-minded beside Yao.

[40] An utterance (A) is said to be "conditionally relevant" on another (S) when the occurrence of S provides for the relevance of the occurrence of A. If A occurs, it occurs (i.e., is produced and heard) as "responsive to" S, i.e., in a serial or sequenced relation to it; and, if it does not occur, its non-occurrence is an event, i.e., it is not only non-occurring (as is each member of an indefinitely extendable list of possible occurrences), it is absent, or "officially" or "notably" absent (Schegloff 1972: 76).

[41] An upgraded agreement is an assessment of the referent assessed in the prior that incorporates upgraded evaluation terms relative to the prior (Pomerantz, 1984: 65).

witness an assessable shift as noted by Pomerantz (1984:98). Originally, the assessable is the *mu* 'scene' as revealed by the photo (see lines 1-2), which is an intangible, abstract entity. However, as the talk proceeds, the focus has been gradually shifted to separate people. In other words, a distributed construal takes the place of a collective construal.

4.1.3.8 Explaining Jargon

In a talk show such as *Facenews*, which deals with issues including politics, economy, foreign affairs, etc., the occurrence of technical terms is unavoidable. To make sure that the viewers do not get affected by these impediments, sometimes the host needs to explain some "big words" in the middle of the conversation. *Hao bu hao* happens to play a role in the host's explanation. Take (42) below as an example, a monologue about a weapon developed by National Chung-Shan Institute of Science and Technology:

(42) [20180821: El Salvador Breaks off Diplomatic Ties with Taiwan]

1	Xie	那	我們	會:	研發:: (.)	萬劍彈	其實	也	是
		na	women	hui	yanfa	wanjiandan	qishi	ye	shi
		and	we	will	develop	Wanjiandan	actually	also	be
2		因為..	老共	那個	地方..	他們	也	有	類似
		yinwei	laogong	nage	difang	tamen	ye	you	leisi
		because	P.R.C.	that	place	they	also	have	similar
3		像	這樣	的	一些.	而	這(.)	而	這個..
		xiang	zheyang	de	yixie	er	zhe	er	zhege
		like	this.way	NOM	some	and	this	and	this
4		這個	如果	你(.)你	印象		中	你	聽
		zhege	ruguo	ni ni	yinxiang		zhong	ni	ting

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	this	if	you	you	impression	middle	you	hear
5	過	子母彈		集束炸彈-		好	講	
	guo	zimudan		jushuzhadan		hao	jiang	
	EXP	Zimudan		cluster.munition		good	say	
6	白	一點	啦.	就是	飛彈	或	炸彈	型 的
	bai	yidian	la	jiushi	feidan	huo	zhadan	xing de
	plain	a.little	PRT	EMP	missile	or	bomb	style NOM
7 →	散彈槍	>好	不	好<.	這	應該	就	比較
	sandanqiang	hao	bu	hao	zhe	yinggai	jiu	bijiao
	shotgun	good	NEG	good	this	should	then	more
8	清楚	了	吧.	>大家<		都 怕	散彈槍	的
	qingchu	le	ba	dajia		dou pa	sandanqiang	de
	clear	PFV	PRT	everyone		all fear	shotgun	NOM
9	那 一	種	嘛.					
	na yi	zhong	me					
	that one	kind	PRT					

Xie: 'And the reason why we… developed… the Wanjiandan is that the P.R.C.'s got things like this as well. And this… this… if you have heard of the Zimudan or cluster munition- Well, let me say it more plainly. It's a missile-style or bomb-style shotgun, ok? Put this way, it becomes more comprehensible, right? Everybody is afraid of shotguns.'

Having ended a quarrel between two guests (not shown in this excerpt), the host Xie (謝震武) returns to a topic talked about a while ago, a weapon called "*Wanjiandan*" (line 1). Afraid that the viewers may not know what it is, Xie names two more weapons,

Zimudan and *jishuzhadan* in line 5. Perhaps realizaing that even these two words are not helpful at all, Xie decides to explain *Wanjiandan* in layman's term. In lines 6-7, making use of *hao bu hao*, Xie says that the so-called *Wanjiandan* is nothing but a missile-style or bomb-style shotgun. Observe that after his brief explanation, Xie assumes that the proper name *Wanjiandan* has now become comprehensible.

4.1.3.9 Negotiation Marker

Finally, we have come to the last kind of non-canonical *hao bu hao* tag. This usage differs radically from what we have discussed since section 4.1.3.1 in that it cannot be easily characterized as performng any conspicuous social action. Unlike the previous eight categories, the property of this kind of *hao bu hao* is elusive to the extent that one should consider data of this sort through a different lens. Let us first take a look at example (43) below, a monologue produced by the host of the talk show:

(43) [20180813: Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (3)]

1	Xie	所有	的	訊息		出來	只 有	<H 一	個 H>.
		suoyou	de	xunxi		chulai	zhi you	yi	ge
		all	NOM	information		out	only exist	one	CL
2		就是	在	小英	總統.	就是	告訴..	所有	台北
		jiushi	zai	xiaoying	zongtong	jiushi	gaosu	suoyou	taipei
		EMP	at	Xiaoying	president	EMP	tell	all	Taipei
3		的		>民進<黨	>支持<者..	總統		力挺	我..
		de		minjindang	zhichizhe	zongtong		liting	wo
		NOM		DPP	supporter	president		support	I
4	→	好	不	好.	文膽		都	出來	站
		hao	bu	hao	wendan		dou	chulai	zhan

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good　NEG　good　propagandist　even　come　stand

5　在　旁邊.　　<H 還有 H>...這　你　看　到　　　的　　是
　　zai　pangbian　haiyou　zhe　ni　kan　dao　　　de　　shi
　　at　beside　　and　　this　you　see　arrive　NOM　be

6　一　張　　手稿.　　翻譯　　過來..　它　就是　　一
　　yi　zhang　shougao　fanyi　　guolai　ta　jiushi　yi
　　one　CL　　manuscript　translate　come　it　EMP　one

　　((He raises his hand, palm facing the camera.))

7　張　　聖旨　　的　　感-　　有　一點　　封建
　　zhang　shengzhi　de　　gan　　you　yidian　fengjian
　　CL　　edict　　NOM　　　　　exist　a.little　feudalistic

　　((He squints his eyes, his head tilting sideward and shaking.))

8　的　　思想.　但是　它　就是　　>這樣<.　　就
　　de　　sixiang　danshi　ta　jiushi　　zheyang　　jiu
　　NOM　idea　　but　　it　EMP　　this.way　　EMP

9　→　告訴　你　上面　　力挺　　<H 就是 這個 H>..　　>好
　　　gaosu　ni　shangmian　liting　　jiushi zhege　　　hao
　　　tell　you　up　　　support　　EMP this　　　　good

10　→　不　　好<.　通關密語…　姚人多　　手稿.　　好
　　　bu　　hao　tongguanmiyu　yaorenduo　shougao　　hao
　　　NEG　good　password　　Yao Renduo　manuscript　good

11　→　就是　這個　意思　>好　不　　好<.　表示
　　　jiushi　zhege　yisi　hao　bu　　hao　biaoshi
　　　EMP　this　meaning　good　NEG　good　mean

12　總統　力挺.　而　在　上　個　禮拜　禮拜五　的
　　zongtong liting　er　zai　shang　ge　libai　libaiwu　de

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	president	support	and	at	previous	CL	week	Friday	NOM
13	時候. shihou time	我們 women we	在 zai at	節目 jiemu program	就 jiu already	講. jiang say	你 ni you	不得不 budebu have.to	
14	佩服 peifu be.impressed	柯<E P E> keP Ke Wenzhe	在 zai at	議題- yiti issue	你 ni you	還 hai still	記得 jide recall	他 ta he	
15	的 de NOM	鯊魚 shayu shark	理論 lilun theory	嗎. ma PRT					

Xie: 'All of the information can be condensed into one thing, and it hinges upon President Xiaoying. It tells all of the supporters of DPP in Taipei that the president is in support of me, ok? Even the president's propagandist is on our side. Furthermore, this thing you see here is a manuscript. Translated, it is actually an edict. It may sound a bit feudalistic, but this is what it is. In other words, it tells you that the boss strongly supports me, ok? Yao Renduo's manuscript is the trump. Ok, this is what it means, ok? It symbolizes the president's support. And as early as last Friday we've already said in this program that you should be amazed at Ke Wenzhe's- Do you still remember his shark theory?'

This monologue is taken from the host's introduction to a piece of news. One day before this episode of *Facenews*, Yao Renduo (姚人多), the chief propagandist and strategist of the DPP, wrote a manuscript to the DPP Taipei maroyal candidate Yao Wenzhi (姚文智), offering him suggestions for his election campaign. Now as Xie (謝

震武, the host) approaches the news board[42] in the studio, he tries to interpret the political implications behind this act. As he points out in lines 3-4, the main idea conveyed via the manuscript can be summarized as this—that the president is in support of Yao Wenzhi (because the author of the manuscript, Yao Renduo, is in a sense the proxy on behalf of the president). In lines 9-10, using *hao bu hao* again, Xie (謝震武) rephrases the message. In lines 10-11 he emphasizes the message yet again, also with the employment of *hao bu hao*.

It begs the question, then, of why Xie (謝震武) bothers to use *hao bu hao* so many times within such a short period of time. A clue comes just in time in the following speech. Right after the last occurrence of *hao bu hao*, Xie starts to talk about something utterly irrelevant, that is, Ke Wenzhe's (柯文哲) "shark theory" (lines 14-15). If we take into account Xie's (謝震武) role as the host of the talk show and pay attention to the overall structure of (43), we shall come to the realization that these three tokens of *hao bu hao*, as a matter of fact, mark the closure of a unit of talk, whereby a transition to a new unit of talk is made possible. Via successive uses *hao bu hao*, Xie (謝震武) makes himself sound as if he were negotiating with other speakers (and presumably the viewers as well), so that every participant of the conversation can move on in concert to the next piece of news. Following Hu (2002), I treat this usage of *hao bu hao* as a "negotiation marker"[43] (Hu, 2002: 70).

Another point to dwell upon is in lines 6-8, between the first and the second occurrence of *hao bu hao*. To facilitate the viewers' comprehension of the significance of the manuscript, Xie (謝震武) likens it to a *shengzhi* 'edict' in line 7. Perceiving negative connotations of this word immediately after it is uttered (indexed by his body

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[42] In each episode of *Facenew* there is a monitor beside the host on which the news to be talked about is shown.
[43] Nonetheless, it remains a mystery why Hu treats this usage under the rubric of "to request the address's evaluation/consent" (see 1.1.2 of Chapter 1).

language and facial expression), though, Xie (謝震武) admits that the wording might sound a bit *fengjian* 'feudalistic'. Yet as he continues in line 8, a *shengzhi* is exactly what the manuscript is (perhaps he has no better ways to describe it). This is strong evidence that what he is doing is not merely talking to himself, but rather engaging his audience. The occurrence of a negotiation marker such as *hao bu hao* under such circumstances, then, becomes fairly conceivable.

4.1.4 Others

Although section 4.1.3 has addressed the majority of the non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao*, there are still some cases that, due to their peculiar formal properties, awaits analysis. In the database of *Facenews*, some tokens of *hao bu hao* are found to be exceptionally incompatible with the current understanding of the grammar of Modern Mandarin Chinese. On the one hand, they are obviously not A-not-A questions. On the other hand, they should not be treated as traditional tag questions either, because the entities they are attached to are not sentences containing complete, saturated propositions. For expediency's sake they can be termed "quasi-tags" in this study.

4.1.4.1 Quasi-tags Attached to Expressives

Though accounting for only a minority of the data, the quasi-tag-uses of *hao bu hao* such as the one in excerpt (44) below deserves extra attention because the linguistic elements being attached to, unlike the hosts of traditional tags, are semantically not complete, saturated propositions, that is to say, predicates together with their arguments.

(44) [20180831: Taipei City Mayor Ke Calls Himself a Nut]

1	Xie	好.	那:	今天:	算	一	算	時間	離
		hao	na	jintian	suan	yi	suan	shijian	li
		good	NA	today	count	one	count	time	from

2		選戰	還	剩下	八十五		天. 今天	所有	的

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	xuanzhan	hai	shengxia	ba-shi-wu	tian	jintian	suoyou	de
	election	still	left	eighty-five	day	today	all	NOM
3	參選		登記(.)	結束.	喔	你	如果(.)	痾 忘
	canxuan		dengji	jieshu	ou	ni	ruguo	uh wang
	participate		register	end	PRT	you	if	PRT forget
4	了	登記	或是:	去	登記	的	>時候<	忘
	le	dengji	huoshi	qu	dengji	de	shihou	wang
	PFV	register	or	go	register	NOM	time	forger
5	了	補 件		或	什麼	的=		
	le	bu jian		huo	shenme	de		
	PFV	add document		or	what	NOM		

6 G =來不及 了 啦.
   laibuji   le   la
   late   PFV   PRT

7 Xie → <TW 乎   歹勢 TW>   >好   不   好<.
          honnh   pháinn-sè   hao   bu   hao
          PRT   sorry   good   NEG   good

8 Zh 來不[及 了].
     laibuji   le
     late   PRT

9 Xie [那   就] 四 年   以後   請   早…   <E OK E>.
         na   jiu si nian yihou qing   zao   OK
         then then four year later please early   OK

Xie:　'Ok, well… today… there're still eighty-five days before the election. Today

　　　　is the deadline of all registration work. And if you… uh… forgot to register,

　　　　or forgot some documents when you registered, or whatever='

G:　　'=It's too late!'

Xie:　'Then I'm sorry, ok?'

Zh:　　'It's too late.'

Xie:　'Then please be earlier four years later… ok.'

On top of this segment, Xie (謝震武, the host), right after G's (谷懷萱, the hostess)
introduction to the guests (not shown here), begins the talk show by reminding the
viewers of how many days there still are before the election (lines 1-2). As he continues
the warm-up, he points out that since all registration work has come to an end, those
who have not registered for the election or forgot to submit the documents needed have
no choice but to wait for another four years.

　　As one examines (44), he should pay attention to line 7, between the antecedent
(premise) and consequence (conclusion) of the conditional relation that Xie creates.
Prior to Xie's (謝震武) foretelling of the unpleasant consequence awaiting those
careless people, he takes a redressive action (Brown & Levinson, 1987) in line 7 by
making an apology in Taiwanese and suffixing it with *hao bu ho*. An apology, however,
is not a full-fledged proposition in the strict sense, for it does not attribute any particular
property to any entity. *Pháinn-sè* in line 7 is, as a matter of fact, an "expressive" (Searle,
1986)[44], qualitatively similar to thanks, congratulations, condolences, welcomes,
greetings, etc., meant to express a certain psychological state to the addressee. Of

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[44] In Searle's writings of illocutionary acts (see also (Searle, 1976, 1979)), expressives are one of the
five "modes" in which utterances represent reality. Unlike the other four modes, however, expressives
have no "direction of fit"; in performing an expressive, the speaker is not trying to get the world to match
words nor the words to match the world. They are not truth-conditional. This is the reason for my
treatment of expressives as *not* propositions.

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particular importance is the "who" component of the definition above—expressives are produced for the sake of *addressees* rather than mere *listeners*. It would be extremely weird to say, for example, *I'm sorry*, *hi*, or *welcome to the party* to someone who is not hurt by the speaker, who does not bump into the speaker on the street, or who has never entered the party. Put another way, an expressive is felicitous *if and only if* it is expressed to the addressee[45]. This explains why Xie (謝震武) uses the second-person pronoun *ni* 'you' in line 3 in the premise of the conditional relation. The instance of *hao bu hao* in line 7, then, resembles Li's (1999) characterization of the utterance-final particle *hoNh*[46] in Taiwanese, which is also a negotiation begging marker. Attaching *hao bu hao* to pháinn-sè, Xie (謝震武) acts as if he were checking whether the apology has been successfully received by his imaginary addressees. In other words, *hao bu hao* renders the apology more bi-directional. It indicates that, as a speaker, Xie is eager and willing to keep his addressee in mind.

4.1.4.2 Quasi-tags Attached to Noun Phrases

In adittion to expressives, *hao bu hao* quasi-tags can be attached to linguistic elements that are even more unlikely to be treated as containing propositional content. In the following excerpt, for instance, *hao bu hao* is sttached to a noun phrase, and it is no longer used as a negotiation begging marker but rather as an attention getter:

(45) [20180824: Southern Taiwan Stricken by Flood]

1	Xie	柯<E P E>	一	個	<E Line E>	上<@面	就
		keP	yi	ge	Line	shangmian	jiu
		Ke Wenzhe	one	CL	Line	on	EMP
2		二十萬@>		<E Line E>	的	粉絲.	當然 這

---

45 The emphasis is mine, though.
46 She transcribes the particle 乎 in Taiwanese as *hoNh*.

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ershiwan   Line   de   fensi   dangran   zhe

two.hundred.thousand   Line   NOM   fan   of.course   this

3   不見得   能   完全   轉.   可是…   透過

      bujiande   neng   wanquan   zhuan   keshi   touguo

      not.necessarily   can   completely   turn   but   via

4   <H 一連串 H>   的   一些   這樣   的   一些

         yilianchuan   de   yixie   zheyan   de   yixie

         a.series.of   NOM   some   this.way   NOM   some

5   →   事情.   蔻蔻…   丐幫(.)   好   不   好.   全…

      shiqing   koukou   gaibang   hao   bu   hao   quan

      thing   Koukou   Beggar.Gang   good   NEG   good   all

      ((He turns to look at Z, frowns, and stretches his arms.))

6   全…   只要   讀   過   武俠   小>說   的<   都

      quan   zhiyao   du   guo   wuxia   xiaoshuo   de   dou

      all   as.long.as   read   EXP   wuxia   novel   NOM   all

7   >知道<   丐幫   自古以來   都   是   最

      zhidao   gaibang   ziguyilai   dou   shi   zui

      know   Beggar.Gang   since.the.ancient.times   all   be   most

      ((Z turns away from Xie's gaze, scratches her ear, and then rests her chin

      on her hand.))

8   大   的   幫派.   而且   當   這個   幫主   是

      da   de   bangpai   erqie   dang   zhege   bangzhu   shi

      big   NOM   gang   besides   when   this   leader   be

9   個   瘋子   的   時候.

      ge   fengzi   de   shihou

      CL   lunatic   NOM   time

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10	C	@@[@@@@@@@@@]₁								

11 Xie
[那　　一切　　　　就　會　變成　　　是　這個
na　　yique　　　jiu　hui　biancheng　shi　zhege
then　everything　then will become　　be　this

12
樣子　　　啊]₁.
yanzi　　a
appearance　PRT

13 Z
他　這些　　話　　　也　不　　是　新　的　　話
ta　zhexie　hua　　ye　bu　　shi　xin　de　　hua
he　these　utterance　YE　NEG　be　new　NOM　utterance

14
啊. 他　在.. 痴.. 剛剛　　當選　　　沒　　多久　　那個
a　ta　zai　uh　ganggng　dangxuan　mei　duojou　nage
PRT he　at　PRT　just　get.elected　NEG　how.long　that

15
時候..　因為　　他　打敗　　連勝文　　　[贏　了]₂
shihou　yinwei　ta　dabai　lianshengwen　　ying　le
time　because　he　defeat　Lian Shengwen　win PFV

16
二十五萬　　　　　　　　票　的　　時候.　他　也
ershiwuwan　　　　　　piao　de　　shihou　ta　ye
two.hundred.and fifty.thousand　vote　NOM　time　he　also

17
講　　過　　丐幫　　[幫主]₃　啊.
jiang　guo　gaibang　bangzhu a
say　EXP　Beggar.Gang　leader　PRT

18 Xie
[對]₂.　　　　　　　　　[對]₃.
　dui　　　　　　　　　　dui
　right　　　　　　　　　right

Xie: 'Even on Line, Ke Wenzhe has two hundred thousand fans. Of course these cannot all be translated into (votes). But via these things, Koukou… the Beggar Gang, ok? Anyone… anyone who has ever read wuxia novels knows that the Beggar Gang has always been the biggest gang since the ancient times, especially when its leader is a lunatic,'

C: ((laughs))

Xie: 'Then everything will become like this.'

Z: 'These words are not new at all. Soon after he was elected… because when he defeated Lian Shengwen by two hundred and fifty thousand votes, he already spoke of *gaibang*.'

Xie: 'Right.' 'Right.'

A few days before this episode of *Facenews*, Taipei City mayor Ke Wenzhe (柯文哲) has said in an interview that he is the leader of *gaibang* 'Beggar Gang', an influential gang in a well-known wuxia novel. Now after briefly talking about the "friend-finding event" on Line organized by Ke's staff (see example (33) in 3.1.3.4), which is alleged to have recruited two hundred thousand fans, Xie (謝震武, the host) begins to underscore the political implications of this number. In line 5 he calls a guest's name, signaling that she should get ready to take up the next turn. After the addressing, Xie attaches *hao bu hao* to *gaibang* ending a complete intonation contour (aided by his facial expression and body language). We can see that here *hao bu hao* serves as a cue or prompt whose presence directs Z (周玉蔻)'s attention to a specific notion, so that she knows what she is expected to respond to later. Having been selected, Z indeed responds to the word *gaibang*, albeit in an extremely contemptuous way (observe her body language as described in line 7). As she points out, this is not the first time that

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Ke Wenzhe mentions the word. And we learn from Xie's (謝震武) successive tokens of *dui* 'right' in line 18 that this is not news to Xie either.

4.2 *Hao Ma*

In the data collected from *Facenews*, only four tokens of the combination *hao ma* are found. Nevertheless, not all of them fall within the scope of the present study. Two tokens are mere morphemes linearly strung together; they are not self-contained constituents. Therefore, no examples of this sort of *hao ma* will be presented in this study. The other two tokens of the combination *hao ma* are formally real tags appended to linguistic elements which contain propositional content. None of these two latter tokens can be understood as seeking information, however. They are labeled as ostensible tag questions.

4.2.1 Ostensible Tag Questions

4.2.1.1 Informing

The first non-canonical usage of *hao ma* takes place in a context where the speaker proffers a piece of information in response to another speaker who has asked a question. In other words, the producer of this kind of *hao ma* performs the social action of informing. What follows is an example:

(46) [20180810: Political Infighting within the Democratic Progressive Party (2)]

1	Z1	柯文哲		去	找	李登輝		是	操作		我
		kewenzhe		qu	zhao	lidenghui		shi	caozuo		wo
		Ke Wenzhe		go	find	Li Denghui		be	manipulation		I
2		同意.									
		tongyi									
		agree									
3	Xie	痾.									
		uh									

PRT

4   Z1   可是   >李登輝   為什麼<   要   見 他.

kehsi   lidenghui   weishenme   yao   jian ta

but   Li Denghui   why   want   see he

5   Xie   痾.

uh

PRT

6   Z1   李[登輝   為什麼(.)   李登輝   為什麼   要]₁

lidenghui   weishenme   lidenghui   weishenme   yao

Li Denghui   why   Li Denghui   why   want

7   見 一 個 兩   岸   一 家   親   的

jian yi ge liang   an   yi jia   qin   de

See one CL two   strait   one family   intimate NOM

8   人(.)   跟   他 那個..   理念   是 完全-

ren   gen   ta nage   linian   shi wanquan

person   with   he that   idea   be completely

9   Z2   [李登輝   誰 都 見   啊]₁.

lidenghui   shui dou jian a

Li Denghui   who all   see PRT

10   Z1   因為   他 現在   真的   很 大. 李﹛登輝(.) [( )

yinwei   ta xianzai   zhende   hen da lidenghui

because he   now   really   very big Li Denghui

11   李﹜₁登輝   見 了   他.. 也 可以]₂   刷   [李登輝

lidenghui   jian le   ta ye keyi   shua   lidenghui

Li Denghui   see PFV he also can   brush   Li Denghui

12   的   存]₃在感.

de　　　cunzaigan

GEN　　sense.of.existence

13　C　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　｛小平(.)　小平(.)

xiaoping　xiaoping

Xiaoping Xiaoping

14　　　　　小平｝₁

xiaoping

Xiaoping

15　Z2　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[<H 李登輝

lidenghui

Li Denghui

16　　　→　很　寂寞　　好　　　　嗎 H>]₂…. [>鍾小平<]₃.

hen　jimo　　hao　　ma　　　　　zhongxiaoping

very lonely　good　　PRT　　　　Zhong Xiaoping

((She frowns and raises her palm, forming a knife-like shape.))

17　Z1　[互相　　　利]₄用　這　[兩　　個　人.]₅

huxiang　　liyong　zhe　liang　　　ge　ren

reciprocally　exploit　this　two　　CL　person

18　Z2　[>鍾小平<]₄.　　　｛[你　　不　　了]₅｝₂解　　｛李登輝｝₃

zhongxiaoping　　　ni　　bu　　liaoje　　　lidenghui

Zhong Xiaoping　　you　NEG　understand　Li Denghui

19　　　啊.

a

PRT

20　C　　　　　　　　　　　　｛一　　句　話｝₂..　　　　　｛一　　句

yi　　ju　hua　　　　　yi　　ju

154

		one	CL	utterance			one	CL

21 | 話 | 講 | 完｝3.

hua | jiang | wan

utterance | say | finish

22 Z2 | 李登輝 | [很 | 寂寞 | 啦]6.

lidenghui | hen | jimo | la

Li Denghui | very | lonely | PRT

23 C | | [李登輝 | 跟 | 宋楚瑜 | 見面 | 了]6

lidenghui | gen | songchuyu | jianmian | le

Li Denghui | with | Song Chuyu | meet | PFV

24 | 還有 | 什麼 | 不 | 能 | 見 | 的.

haiyou | shenme | bu | neng | jian | de

still | what | NEG | can | see | NOM

25 Xie | 喔::: | 嗯:.

ou | mm

PRT | PRT

Z1: 'I agree that Ke Wenzhe's visit to Li Denghui was a political stunt.'

Xie: 'Uh.'

Z1: 'But why did Li Denghui bother to see him?'

Xie: 'Uh.'

Z1: 'Why did Li Denghui… why did Li Denghui want to see someone who had claimed that people across the straits belong to a family? That's completely (opposed to) Li's own political position.'

Z2: 'Li is willing to see anyone.'

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Z1:   'Because now he (Ke Wenzhe) is really a celebrity. Seeing him can promote

Li Denghui's sense of existence.'

C: 'Xiaoping, Xiaoping, Xiaoping.'

Z2:   'Li Denghui is very lonely, ok?'   'Zhong Xiaoping.'

Z1:   'These two guys can benefit from each other.'

Z2:   'Zhong Xiapoing, you don't understand Li Denghui!'

C: 'One sentence… it takes only one sentence to end this all.'

Z2:   'Li Denghui is very lonely.'

C: 'Given that Li Denghui had seen Song Chuyu (before), who else couldn't he

see?'

Xie: 'Oh. Mm.'

In this multi-party conversation that revolves around Taipei City Mayor Ke Wenzhe (柯文哲) and former President Li Denghui (李登輝), the interlocutors' interest is in the motivation behind Ke's visit to Li one day before this episode of *Facenews*. speaker Z1 (鍾小平) begins his comment by labeling the act as a political stunt in lines 1-2, after which he poses a question (line 4). Elaborating the question (lines 6-8), Z1 (鍾小平) answers himself in lines 10-12, performing the action of self-informing. However, as the excerpt shows, the elaboration suffers from severe "intrusive interruptions[47]" (Murata, 1994) by other speakers (C and Z2) who are eager to answer the question themselves. For C (陳東豪), given that Li has already met Song before, the fact that Li agreed to see Ke does not seem to be a big deal (lines 23-24). Of particular relevance is speaker Z2's (周玉蔻) reaction. In line 9 Z2 makes her first attempt to answer the

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[47] Intrusive interruptions as defined by Murata (1994: 388) are interrupsions that are more aggressive than "co-operative interruptions" because they aim at topic-changing, floor-taking, or disagreement. In Murata's terminology, intrusive interruptions trespass the territoriality of the speaker whose speech is being interrupted.

question, saying that Li is willing to see everyone (which overlaps with Z1's utterance in line 6). Nevertheless, sinece Z1 (鍾小平) does not relinquish his floor but keeps talking, it is possible that this piece of information has not been successfully communicated. In lines 15-16 Z2 (周玉蔻) makes her second attempt to answer the question. This time, recruiting *hao ma*, she proffers the ultimate reason for Li's willingness to see Ke—that Li is lonely—together with para-linguistic cues such as voice quality and body language. Notice that after this informing, Z2 (周玉蔻) explicitly claims her superior epistemic status in relation to Z1's (鍾小平) in lines 18-19. The message that she is trying to convey seems to be that *only* people who truly understand Li know exactly what Li thinks. *Since* Z1 (鍾小平) knows little about Li, it is impossible for Z1 to access Li's mind. In line 22 Z2 (周玉蔻) repeats her answer again, which unfortunately overlaps with C's (陳東豪) turn in line 23. The excerpt ends with the host's (Xie=謝震武) prolonged change-of-token *ou* plus the backchannel *mm* (though the epistemic change is more likely to be occasioned by C than by Z2).

4.2.1.2 Reminding

Another non-interrogative usage of *hao ma* is for the speaker to raise interlocutors' consciousness of something that is vital to the on-going talk but that is, for whatever reason, forgotten or neglected. Speakers of this kind of *hao ma* are said to perform the social action of reminding. An example is shown below:

(47) [20180906: Taipei City Mayor Ke's Rage (2)]

1	G1	自己	的	老公	說..	跑	去	找	王金平
		ziji	de	laoging	shuo	pao	qu	zhao	wangjinping
		self	GEN	husband	say	run	go	find	Wang Jinping

2		說	我	老婆	失蹤.	然後	找	不	到	老婆.
		shuo	wo	laopo	shizong	ranhou	zhao	bu	dao	laopo

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		say	I	wife	missing	and	find NEG	arrive	wife

3		然後	說 要	去	幫	鄺麗貞[48]	不		幫
		ranhou	shuo yao	qu	bang	kuanglizhen	bu		bang
		and	say want	go	help	Kuang Lizhen	NEG		help

4		>自己<	的	老婆.	如果	你	>是 他<	老婆	回
		ziji	de	laopo	ruguo	ni	shi ta	laopo	hui
		self	GEN	wife	if	you	be he	wife	return

5		家	會	怎麼樣	我	是	不	>知道<-	
		jia	hui	zenmeyang	wo	shi	bu	zhidao	
		home	will	how	I	be	NEG	know	

6	C	你	講	得	好	像	本土劇	喔.	
		ni	jiang	de	hao	xiang	bentuju	ou	
		you	say	CSC	so	like	native.drama	PRT	

7	G2	[@@@@]₁

8	C	[編劇人	似	的]₁.
		bianjuren	si	de
		playwright	like	NOM

9	G1	所以	我	[覺得]₂-
		suoyi	wo	juede
		so	I	think

10	Xie			[現在]₂	已經	是	本土劇	了	[不
				xianzai	yijing	shi	bentuju	le	bu
				now	already	be	native.drama	PFV	NEG

11		是	嗎]₃.

---

[48] Judging from the context, this should be a speech error. What G1 means should be Rao Qingling (because Kuang Lizhen is Wu Junli's wife).

```
                    shi   ma

                    be    PRT

12  G1                                                          [我

                                                                wo

                                                                I

13          覺得]₃    這個     都    不     合           常理          嘛.

            juede    zhege   dou   bu    he          changli       me

            think    this    all   NEG   conform.with  commen.sense  PRT

14          所以      吳俊立    [跑  去]₄-

            suoyi    wujunli   pao qu

            so       Wu Junli  run go

15  Xie                      [你   也   不      相]₄信  他    找      不

                             ni   ye   bu     xiangxin ta   zhao    bu

                             you  too  NEG    believe  she  find    NEG

16          到       老婆.

            dao      laopo

            arrive   wife

            ((He reaches out his hand towards G1 and stares at her, mouth open.))

17  C       [不      相信]₅.

             bu      xiangxin

             NEG     believe

18  G1      [<H 不       可能 H>]₅.  <H 真的      找    不      到

             bu       keneng                zhende    zhao  bu      dao

             NEG      possible             really    find  NEG     arrive

19     →    老婆     是   要   報警         的    好      嗎      [是

            laopo    shi  yao  bao-jing     de   hao     ma      shi

                                159
```

	wife	be	need	report-police	NOM	good	PRT	be

20
要　　報警　　　的 H>]6.

yao　　bao-jing　　de

need　　report-police　　NOM

((She makes a fist and waves it in the air.))

21 K　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[找

zhao

find

22　不　　到　　老婆　　跟　他]6 有　　沒　　有

bu　　dao　　laopo　　gen ta　　you　　mei　　you

NEG　　arrive　　wife　　with he　　exist　　NEG　　exist

23　挺　　老婆　　這　是　兩　　碼　事情.

ting　　laopo　　zhe shi　liang　　ma　shiqing

support　　wife　　this be　two　　CL　thing

24 Xie　喔:::::.

ou

PRT

G1:　'(Think about it), your husband saying that… your husband going to meet Wang Jinping saying that his wife is missing and that he can't find his wife and that he would not help his own wife? If you were his wife, what would you do when you went home? I don't know-'

C:　'The way you describe the event makes it sound like soap opera.'

G2:　((laughs))

C:　'You're like a playwright.'

G1:   'So I think-'

Xie: 'Hasn't this been native drama already?'

G1:   'I think the whole thing is preposterous. So Wu Junli went to-'

Xie: 'You don't think he can't find his wife?'

C: 'No, I don't.'

G1:   'That's impossible! If one really can't find his wife, he needs to call the police, ok? He needs to call the police!'
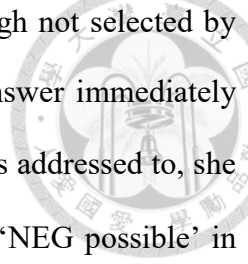
K: 'The fact that (Wu) can't find her wife is not the same thig as whether he supports her or not.'

Xie: 'Oh.'

This is another dialogue about the political turmoil within the KMT first mentioned in example (31) in 4.1.3.2. It has been reported a few days before this episode of *Facenews* that Kuang Lizhen (鄺麗貞) went missing after her unexpected registration for the election and that her husband, Wu Junli (吳俊立), traveled north to ask former President of Legislative Yuan (立法院), Wang Jinping (王金平), for help. A conversationalist C (陳敏鳳) has said prior to this excerpt that the condition facing Wu Junli is tough, for he is forced to make a choice between his sister and his wife. Now in line 1 speaker G1 (高嘉瑜, a member of the DPP) begins her comment on this event by inviting co-participants to picture themselves being Kuang Lizhen (鄺麗貞) and asking them how they would feel if they found their husband Wu Junli (吳俊立) in support of his sister but not of herself. Although G1's (高嘉瑜) further talk is cut off abruptly in line 5, one can reasonably guess that she thinks Wu Junli had better side with his wife instead of his sister.

The intriguing part of this excerpt begins from line 15, where Xie (謝震武, the host) issues a declarative question about the truth of Kuang Lizhen (鄺麗貞) going

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missing, thus making an informing in the next turn relevant. Though not selected by Xie (謝震武) as the next speaker, C (陳敏鳳) gives a negative answer immediately (line 17). As for G1 (高嘉瑜), the person Xie's (謝震武) question is addressed to, she gives a "non-conforming" answer (see section 4.1.3.2) *bu keneng* 'NEG possible' in line 18 with high pitch. Retaining the prosodic feature, she subsequently brings up a piece of shared knowledge which is, whether explicitly or implicitly, an integral part of the ongoing topic (in this case, someone going missing) and suffixes it with *hao ma* (watch her body language). This can be understood as the backdrop against which the foregoing short answer *bu keneng* is situated. In other words, the consequence and seriousness of someone's disappearance rule out the possibility of Wu Junli's (吳俊立) wife going missing. Unfortunately, the reminding turns out to be not successful, for as the excerpt shows, Xie's (謝震武) attention is directed away instantly. Interrupting G1's (高嘉瑜) talk, K's (柯志恩, a member of the KMT) utterance in lines 21-23 (presumably another case of reminding) results in Xie's prolonged change-of-state token *ou*.

Chapter 5:   Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

In this study, I have identified as many as nine social actions/functions get done through the ostensible *hao bu hao* question tag, two of which can also be realized by its structural "cousin" *hao ma*. As Table 5.1 shows below, of the one hundred and seven tokens of the combination *hao bu hao* in the TV talk show *Facenews*, twelve tokens (or 11.2%) are the well-established A-not-A structures within clauses. Since these *hao bu hao* tokens contribute to the integrity of the propositions conveyed by the clauses inside which they are nested, they cannot be removed. On the other hand, 89 tokens (= 83.18%) of *hao bu hao* are independent units separable from their hosts, which can be divided further into two groups: 46 tokens (= 42.99%) that are used in an interrogative way to seek information, and 43 tokens (40.19%) that are not understood as seeking information. After careful examination, it turns out that this latter group contains up to nine social actions/functions, including (i) agreeing, (ii) correcting, (iii) delivering news, (iv) disagreeing, (v) explaining jargon, (vi) informing/self-informing, (vii) negotiation marker, (viii) pre-correction, and (ix) reminding. Finally, 6 (= 5.61%) *hao bu hao* tokens are neither A-not-A structures nor units outside clauses. Labeled as "others," they can serve as either negotiation begging markers or attention getters.
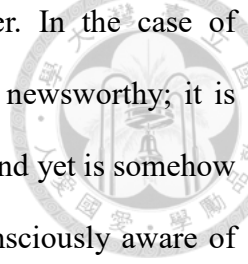
As for the other target, only four tokens of *hao ma* are found in *Facenews*. Two of them are mere strings of morphemes and therefore do not fall within the scope of this study. Of the other two tokens, which are both ostensible tag questions, one is found to perform the social action of informing and the other reminding.

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Table 5.1 Summary of Findings

			Hao bu hao	*Hao ma*
Within a clause (11.21%)			12 (11.21%)	2 (50%)
Outside a clause (83.18 %)	Seeking information		46 (42.99%)	0
	Not seeking information	Agreeing	2 (1.87%)	0
		Correcting	7 (6.54%)	0
		Delivering news	2 (1.87%)	0
		Disagreeing	2 (1.87%)	0
		Explaining jargon	2 (1.87%)	0
		Informing/Self-informing	10 (9.35 %)	1 (25%)
		Negotiation marker	4 (3.74%)	0
		Pre-correction	1 (0.93%)	0
		Reminding	13 (12.15%)	1 (25%)
Others (5.61%)	Attention getter		4 (3.74%)	0
	Negotiation begging marker		2 (1.87%)	0
Total (token/percentage)			107 (100%)	4 (100%)

5.2 Epistemic Transformation

Although such fine-grained, in-depth analysis of the non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* may strike the reader as not elegant, the ten or so social actions/functions can actually be unified. As already hinted or implied in Chapter 4, they revolve around the notion of "epistemics." Whether a speaker performs informings, news deliveries, or remindings, he is always an information holder who is in a knowing position ([K+]) concerning a particular domain knowledge. In the case of informings, he disseminates a piece of information to someone who explicitly demands it. In the case of news deliveries, the information is not elicited from someone who is earger to

possess it; instead, it is given voluntarily by the news deliverer. In the case of reminders, what is proffered is not just something interesting or newsworthy; it is "urgent" in the sense that it is considered vital to the on-going talk and yet is somehow forgotten or neglected. Assuming that the interlocutors are not consciously aware of this gap, the speaker uses *hao bu hao* or (or *hao ma*) to bring up a state of affairs. Agreeings and disagreeings are also actions associated with epistemics. When someone agrees or disagrees with an assessment, he is at the same time registering his unique, distinct access to the assessable as a sentient being. In short, he reveals himself. Finally, making corrections (and pre-corrections) involves a claim of greater authority or better access to the trouble-source (Benjamin & Mazeland, 2013: 4). In making a correction, a apeaker claims superior knowledge regarding a particular object in the on-going talk, and the recipient may accept the correction, reject it, or, under certain citsumatances, fail to attend to it.

Despite their (formally) interrogative appearances, the fact that these *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* instances are mobilized not to fulfill their "callings"—to seek information—but to do the exact opposite—to impart information—is something that warrants contemplation, especially when viewed against the backdrop of Functional Grammar.

In Functional Grammar (Halliday, 1985, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), the clause is treated as an interactive exchange between language users. When someone speaks, he adopts for himself a particular "speech role" and simultaneously assigns to the recipient a complementary role which he wishes him to play in the next turn. No matter how variegated natural language might appear, at the fundamental level there are only two types of speech roles: one either (i) gives something or (ii) demands something. Either way, the internal structure of what is opted for is inherently complex: while to give is "to invite to receive," to demand is "to invite to give."

Hao bu hao, then, is interesting in that beside coming from a speaker who plays the speech role of a demander in search of information or knowledge (as is assumed in existing grammars of Chinese), it can also be produced by someone who plays the speech role of a giver willing to transmit information or knowledge. Although it remains a mystery when the occurrence of *hao bu hao* after a fact or statement became possible in history[49], judging from formal similarity and relative frequency, it is possible that such epistemic transformation in terms of speech roles (i.e., from demanding to giving) has spread from *hao bu hao* to *hao ma* rather than the other way around[50], although this contention awaits further investigation. The epistemic transformation that *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* undergo can be visualized in Figure 5.1 below:
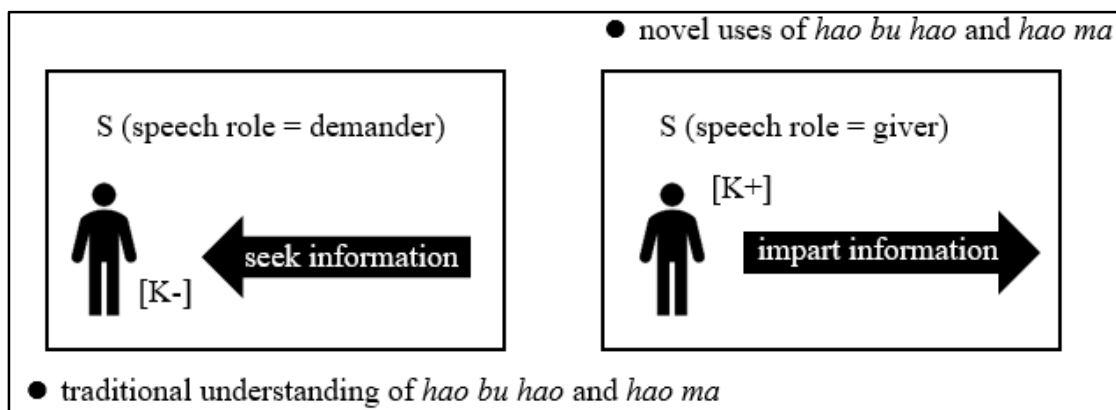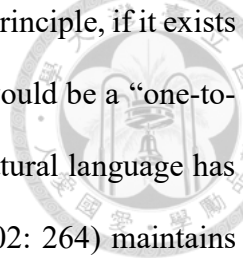
Figure 5.1 Epistemic Transformation of *Hao Bu Hao* and *Hao Ma*

5.3 Implications

Given that natural language is a semiotic system pressed into service by human beings, who encounter numerous conspecifics and engage in a multitude of activities in an ever-changing environment, the possibility that linguistic items may adapt to their users' shifting concerns and undergo modification over time is virtually inevitable. In

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[49] Several researchers (Gao, 2009; Hu, 2002; Pan, 2009; Peng & Fu, 2008; Tan, 2010; T.-X. Wang, 2011; Zheng & Shao, 2008) have made attempts to tackle the historical change that *hao bu hao* underwent, but no clear point in time at which the non-interrogative uses arose has been worked out.
[50] A somewhat similar speculation can be seen in L. Y. Wang's (2005) thesis. However, she only identifies what she calls "rebuttal markers."

other words, given enough time, the ideal "one form-one meaning" principle, if it exists at all, is destined to break down. A much more plausible scenario would be a "one-to-many" relationship. Indeed, as Geeraerts (1985: 142) points out, natural language has the tendency to maximize polysemy. In the same vein, Taylor (2002: 264) maintains that languages are clearly able to tolerate an enormous amount of polysemy. If we take polysemy as subsuming poly-functionality, then the present study can be said to back up this view of language. Collectively, the multiple social actions that *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* have been demonstrated to implement indicate the complexity and dynamicity of humans' social life.

5.4 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

While this work has delineated various social actions/functons performed through the non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma*, most of which hinge upon the notion of epistemics (or the transmitting of information/knowledge, to be precise), a number of issues await further investigation.

First of all, *hao bu hao* ostensible question tags have been alleged to be prevalent among younger speakers. For instance, according to Zheng and Shao's (2008) preliminary survey, of people between the age of 35 and 40, 70% of them think it is okay to use *hao bu hao* as an utterance-final negation marker, and another 30% of them do use them frequently. Gao (2009) also claims that the discourse marker *hao bu hao* is "trendy" among younger speakers. Although in the present study such *hao bu hao* tokens are produced by speakers whose mean age is about 53.77, surely this cannot be extrapolated to the whole Chinese-speaking community. It would be interesting to conduct a larger-scale survey on this issue.

Second, the exact source of these non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* is worth exploring as well. While Zheng and Shao (2008), two researchers from mainland China, conjecture that the utterance-final negation marker *hao bu hao* comes

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from TV series, movies, and music made in Taiwan and Hong Kong, this is a contention that calls for corroboration[51]. Leaving this issue aside, entertaining is the fact that such non-interrogative uses of *hao bu hao* have started to "infect" L2 learners[52]. Perhaps it would be helpful to consult them about their memory of when they first started to speak this way.

Finally, another issue that may interest investigators (sociolinguists in particular) is which gender is more likely to use *hao bu hao* and *hao ma* in a non-interrogative way. Since the speakers in this study are mostly male (see section 3.2 of Chapter 3), no sound generalizations can be made. Whatever the answer may be, it will definitely shed light on predictions about what kind of language users are more prone to linguistic innovations.

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[51] My personal communication with speakers from Hong Kong rules out the latter possibility.
[52] For example, check this Hispanic youtuber's channel at https://www.youtube.com/user/noldoazul.

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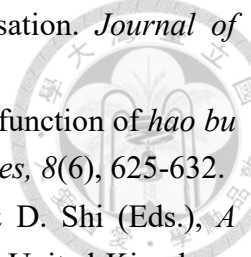Gettier, E. L. (1963). Is Justified True Belief Knowledge? *Analysis, 23*(6), 121-123.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

[ ]		overlapping speech
[ ]$_1$		When multiple overlaps occur, subscripted numbers help identify different occurrences of overlaps.
{ }		overlapping speech (in cases of complex overlaps)
{ } $_1$		When multiple overlaps occur, subscripted numbers help identify different occurrences of overlaps.
-		abrupt cutoff
.		final intonation
…		long pause
..		medium pause
(.)		short pause
( )		audible yet indecipherable talk
(( ))		additional details provided by the transcriber
:		lengthening
=		latching
_		emphatic stress
@		laughter
<@	@>	laugh quality
<H	H>	noticeable higher pitch
<E	E>	code switching from Mandarin to English
<TW	TW>	code switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese
>	<	rushed speech

Appendix B: List of Abbreviations

ASSOC	associative (的)
BA	*ba* (把)
BEI	*bei* (被)
CAI	*cai* (才)
CL	classifier
CSC	complex stative construction (得)
DUR	durative aspect
EMP	emphatic
EXP	experiential aspect
FILL	filler
GEN	genitive
INT	interjection
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer (的)
PFV	perfective aspect
PRT	particle
SUO	*suo* (所)